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strating himself each time in front of the gate. During the ceremony, his soldiers dance, fire, and sing, while some fifty discordant bands try to out-noise each other in playing the royal quick step, the only tune I heard at Abomey. There is something fearful in the state of subjection in which, in outward show, the kings of Dahomey hold their highest officers; yet, when the system is examined, these prostrations are merely keeping up of ancient customs. And although no man's head in Dahomey can be considered warranted for twenty-fours, still the great chief himself would find his tottering if one of these customs was omitted. There is an iron tyranny which governs all, and over which none appears to have control.

On the left of the square is a long shed, in which the ministers and caboceers whose turn of duty it is, recline during the day, ready at call; and here we waited. Entering the palace, we were shown to the door of the audience chamber, and, displacing two magnificent pea-

cocks* his Majesty was feeding with corn, took our seats opposite a large couch bedstead, on which the dread monarch reclined. There were present the mayo, ee-a-boo-gan, camboodee, toouoonoo, and caoopeh, and their coadjutors in the harem; or, the grand vizier of Whydah, treasurer, head eunuch, and sub-treasurer.

A letter from her Majesty was, after a few compliments, handed to the king, who, breaking the seal, returned it to Mr. Beecroft to read.

Reading of her Majesty's letter to the king.

The letter was read in short sentences, and much conversation on the various points intervened. His Majesty "appeared" to receive the translation of its contents with pleasure, and promised to consider well the question "relative to the suppression of the slave trade in his dominions." He directed us to notice his customs well, and explained that we must remain spectators for at least six weeks.

The question of the amount of the

* Presents from the Royal Zoological Society, through the late Mr. Duncan, Vice-Consul.

royal disbursements at the customs caused much discussion among the ministers, and led to remarks from us that the palm oil trade, if cultivated, would, in a very few years, be far more lucrative than the slave traffic; and that if the productions that the soil of Dahomey was capable of were raised, Dahomey might be the richest nation in Africa.

The ministers and caboceers, during the day, paraded the town at the head of their levees and pomp of state, showing themselves to the people: there was much noise of shouting, firing, and discordant music. On our return home we made up the royal present, which the mayo and the ee-a-voogan arrived to receive and take charge of to the palace.

May 29th. — At 7. 30 A. M. we were sent for by the king, and soon ushered into the *entrée* of the same audience chamber now occupied by an elderly dame, in the uniform of an amazon, called the "mae-hae-pah," a sort of "female grand vizier," and one whose name will figure often in

this journal. The old lady was very busy winding up eight Sam-Slick clocks! some upside down!! others on their sides, and one, by mistake, in its proper position. From this state we rescued them; but not before horrifying Abas-ego, the stately dame, by stepping one foot within the sacred precincts of the harem. The possibility of a recurrence was at once checked by the lady and toonoonoo (the head eunuch) placing themselves on their knees, one on each side the threshold, and thus passing the clocks to and fro. A watch and musical box succeeded, on the efficacies of each of which we were called to dilate. As nothing is considered finished that is not ended with a drink of strong water, we bowed to the mae-hae-pah in a glass of hollands and departed, being obliged to carry away a watch, of which (being rather stiff) I had broken the glass (in showing how to open it), and I had to replace it.

The commencement of the customs, Ee-que-ah-ek-beh.

At 10 A. M. commenced the custom called "Ee-que-ah-ek-beh," paying the troubadours. Passing through another gateway,

we entered on an extensive square. On the opposite side, under a rich canopy of umbrellas of every colour, and ornamented with strange devices, on a couch, reclined the king. In his rear, and on each side, sat his wives and female soldiers, in all about three thousand, all well dressed. The amazons in uniform, armed and accoutred, squatted on their hams, their long Danish muskets on end, with the stocks on the ground. Among the crowd of amazons were planted twenty-eight crutch sticks, painted blue, and each ornamented with a bandanna handkerchief; these were the sticks of office of the female troubadours, and each, in her turn, had to sing the romance of the history of Dahomey.

Where we stood was a sort of neutral ground, between the male and female position, not allowed to be passed by any male but the king, who remains, on these occasions, guarded by his amazons. Wallowing in the dirt, throwing dust on their heads, at our feet were the mayo and ee-a-voo-gan; just beyond them, on their

knees, the toonoonoo and mae-hae-pah, the former explaining to the latter our rank. The mae-hae-pah having reported our arrival to the king, we bowed three times, and facing about, took our position opposite the throne, in a crowd of thousands of ministers, cabooceers, officers, and soldiers (all on their hams), where a table bearing a silver liquör stand* and glasses, and, in the rear, chairs, marked our place. Among the males were also twenty-eight crutch-sticks of office of as many troubadours.

A strict silence reigned, save when broken, at short intervals, by the voice of a herald proclaiming aloud the conquests of the kings of Dahomey. The scene was novel, and the dresses (from colour) magnificent in appearance. We were no sooner seated than two troubadours advanced and introduced themselves; then (one at a time) sang, in metrical short

* Each day was a similar display; and no doubt in the king's idea we were well supplied, liqueurs and liquors of all kinds, but no wines or light drinks.

verse, the praises of the monarch — his exploits in war, his numerous conquests, the "glorious" achievements of his ancestors; and, as if sweet to the ears of the brother who had deposed him, desecrated the name of Adonajah, the dethroned monarch, as one unfit to reign over a brave warlike nation such as Dahomey. "Gezo," sang the troubadour, "was the choice of the nation! the liberal! the free-handed! who so generous as he? who so brave? Behold him, the king of kings! Haussoo-lae-beh Haussoo." At the mention of his father's, or any deceased relative's, name, all the cabooceers, ministers, and officers had to prostrate on the neutral ground and kiss the dust.

After a lengthened and fabulous account of the Attapahm war, they sang, in anticipation of future wars, "Who dares insult the king, and shall not be punished? There are three yet to conquer! Abeahkeutah, Tappur, and Yorubah: let the king name one, and it shall fall."

With much ceremony two large cala-

bashes, containing the skulls of kings, ornamented with copper, brass, coral, &c., were brought in and placed on the neutral ground. Some formed the heads of walking-sticks, distaffs; while those of chiefs and war-men ornamented drums, umbrellas, surmounted standards, and decorated doorways. They were, on all sides, in thousands; these calabashes were placed on a newly raised heap of earth, which, we were now told, covered the body of a victim, sacrificed last night, to be placed under the pole of the pavilion, to be raised for his Majesty's court for to-morrow's "custom." Each skull, in each of these calabashes, would form the illustration of a fearful tragedy; but as all would be tedious and disgusting I venture to relate one—the tragic murder of Ah-chardee, chief of the republic of Jena whose name has already appeared in this journal.

The murder of Ah-chardee, chief of Jena.

On-Sih, king of Jena, died, and the heir-apparent, Dekkon, hated and rejected by the chiefs and people, fled for protection to Abomey. Adonajah, king of Dahomey,

received him with regal state, but refused to march an army to assist him. Adonajah's mother was a Jena woman. The chance of so fruitful a slave hunt was too tempting to the Dahoman people: already disgusted with the cruelties of their monarch, they, with one consent, called his next brother, Gezo, to the throne; and Adonajah, seized in his harem, was confined in his palace; where, it is said, he remains to this day, a drunkard and a sensualist, enjoying every luxury money can purchase or war seize; wanting, however, the two great desires of our nature—liberty and power. The new monarch instantly headed an army, and marched on what was expected an easy conquest, attended by Dekkon.

In the meantime, Jena had declared herself a republic, and Ah-chardee, a brave and intrepid chief, who had been chosen as its president, repulsed the Dahoman army with great slaughter. A second, and a third year, and the slave hunt, was equally unsuccessful.

Gezoo now resolved to effect by stratagem what he had failed to do by force. He made an amicable peace, and the two chiefs swore eternal friendship; in order to cement which, hostages were sent to Jena, and the president invited to witness the Dahomey customs. He came, was loaded with honours and presents, aud sent back attended by an army as his guard. A second year, and again the same farce was enacted. The third year the hostages were neither sought for nor sent. The friendship was considered so firm, that Ah-chardee brought with him near 1000 traders; but soon found that a false friend is worse than a bitter enemy. Received as a chief, he attended the customs; but on the "custom" called Ek-quee-noo-ah-toh, he was seized, thrown to the executioners, barbarously decapitated, and all his traders made slaves, and many of them sold. Such is the story of Ah-chardee, whose skull is confined in a copper casing, and is one of the highest ornaments of this truly barbarian court.

Dekkon invited, returned to Jena, where he was seized and beheaded; the next annual slave hunt destroyed Jena, whose people are now wanderers, many of them, under the republican standard of Abea-Keutah, "under stone."

The female troubadours.

After two males had sung, two females stepped forward, singing in praise "of him," they said, "who gave them birth. We were women, we are now men; Gezo has borne us again, we are his wives, his daughters, his soldiers, his sandals. War is our pastime, — it clothes, it feeds, it is all to us." Repeatedly describing some particular exploit, they would call upon the multitude to laugh for joy at the glorious deeds of Gezoo. First the female court exercised their risible faculties; then the male set up a laughing chorus; at other times they called on all to join chorus, when the din was indescribable, as some fifty bands chimed in. After a second set of males had sung, a party of liberated Africans, dressed in European style, entered the court-yard, and, standing in front of the

throne uncovered, shouted thrice, Viva el Rey de Dahomey!

As a sort of interlude, Ah-hop-peh, the king's brother, opened a palaver about the propriety of removing the goods (to be given away) to the market before the actual day; that "there were many strangers," he said, "in the town and the temptation might be too much for them." "Besides," he added, "if any body did steal, even were he a king's son, he must suffer death, and that opportunity makes the thief." After some discussion about ancient rules, the king settled the matter by ordering that they should be removed at 4 A.M. of the morning of the day they were to be distributed.

At noon the king left his sofa, amid firing of guns and shouting of courtiers of both sexes, and, crossing the neutral ground, drunk a glass of liqueur with us. He was dressed in a blue flowered satin robe, sandals, and a gold-laced slouched hat, and wore a handsome gold chain. As he drunk all the male and female warriors danced

and sung, and fired off muskets; whilst the eunuchs held up cloths, that no man might see the king drink.

As each pair of troubadours finished their song, twenty-eight heads of cowries, twenty-eight pieces of cloth, four pieces of handkerchiefs, and two gallons of rum were presented — if to males by the mayo, if to females by the mae-hae-pah — with a lengthened speech on the liberality of the monarch. Who paid them so highly for remembering the glorious deeds of his ancestors? This present was for the two sergeants and their bands, in all about thirty people.

Food was passed round to every body, and a very good luncheon of fowls and stews sent to us. At 3 P. M., as it rained very hard, we asked and received permission to retire. The novelty of the scene was sufficient to keep away *ennui*, and had it not been for the constant repetition of extreme disgust at the filthy praise lavished on the monarch, we might have been more amused.

The real expenses of the custom, and the royal balance-sheet.

Arrived at our quarters, we made our calculation of the whole expenses, allowing that each of the twenty-eight couples received the same present as that already stated, as we were told the king would send in the evening his account of them. At the most liberal allowance we found that his Majesty might have paid to these keepers of the records or human archives 1698 dollars' worth of cowries and goods.

In the evening the mayo and ee-a-voogan arrived, followed by several blacks, carrying baskets of small white cowries, which we had to count, as they described the different sums, and their purposes. The account ran as follows: — Given at that day's custom, 7540 heads of cowries (which, let the reader understand, is about 76 hogsheads of cowries), 644 pieces of cloth, 92 iron armlets, 140 bottles of rum. That the king had thrown away that morning 400 heads of cowries to the people, and 40 pieces of cloth, and intended to scramble that night 800 heads of cowries. That the whole of the day's expenses to the

monarch were to the amount of 26,000 dollars!

I had expected his Majesty would endeavour to the utmost to deceive us with regard to his wealth, but this was too much; so sweeping the whole from the table, I told them, in plain English, they lied, and that if they could not bring truth, we would not think the better of them for telling such ridiculous falsehoods; and the sequel will show that such was the proper course. They never pursued this course a second time; and when they brought the grand total for the whole customs, it but little exceeded what they tried to make us believe had been disbursed in one day!

These extraordinary exaggerations have been before too well believed, and hence it is that this monarch's wealth has been so much enhanced: I believe it is quoted at 300,000 dollars a year!!

God help the mark! I fear his Majesty would decapitate the half of his prisoners of war instead of a tithe, if he had such

an income in place of an exchequer replenished, or not, at the slave-hunt. Before he took leave for the day, the mayo desired, on pain of death, that no one should walk out during that night, as the king was going to sacrifice. The terms used by the mayo must not be regarded as a threat, but as a friendly warning; for when the drum or gong passes through the streets to announce the commencement of the sacrifices, all who are found out of their houses are immediately seized and added to the list of victims. In the night, such a fate might by accident have befallen even a white man. Gezo, we are assured, has no delight in human sacrifices, and continues these awful scenes solely out of deference to ancient national customs. To-night he is to decapitate six.

EK - BAH - TONC - EK - BEH

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PART II.

THE EK-BAH-TONG-EK-BEH, OR DISPLAY OF THE KING'S WEALTH.

Summoned to witness the display of the king's wealth.

It was little more than seven o'clock of the morning when, on May 30th, we were informed that a royal messenger had arrived to summon us to the palace to witness the custom to be performed on this day — the Ek-bah-tong-ek-beh, or display of the king's wealth. At a little distance from our gate, the road was fenced off, and a guard set on the temporary gate, so as to prevent any one from entering who was not invited to bear a part in the proceedings of the day. They who wished to inspect the royal treasure and goods, which were to be shown to the people, assembled in the Ahjahee market-place. When we arrived in the palace-square, at the foot of the ladder leading to the palaver-house, on each

side were three human heads recently decapitated, the blood still oozing; on the threshold of the entrance gate was a pool of blood from six human sacrifices, over which we had to step. In the square was a huge model of an elephant caparisoned on wheels, on which the king is drawn when going short journeys. The king never walks, nor rides on horseback; but is either carried in a hammock or drawn on this elephant or in a carriage or wheeled chair. In the centre of the court-yard stood a crimson tent or pavilion forty feet high, ornamented with emblems of human and bullock's heads, skulls, and other devices equally barbarous and disgusting. On the top was the figure of a Dahoman standard-bearer (or half-heads, as they are called, having half their heads shaved), bearing a standard, having for a device a skull in a calabash, standing on three other skulls. About the yard were many flags, of all colours, some bearing, as their devices, men cutting off others' heads, and others tying prisoners, and many national

flags, amongst which last were several union-jacks.

In and about the pavilion were the female host of ministers, cabooceers, amazons, wives, and virgins. The king had not arrived; all were gaily dressed, and, as yesterday, squatted, armed, and accoutred.

On the neutral ground, where we stood, facing the pavilion (while the mayo and ee-a-voo-gan grovelled in the dust, like Chinese mandarins ko-towing to the royal chair), roamed an ostrich, an emu, several dwarfs, hunchbacks, and albinos, besides troops of dogs almost of every country and variety. Having bowed three times, and exchanged signs with those two grave functionaries, diviners, and exchangers of the mysteries of the opposite sexes, the mae-hae-pah and too-noo-noo, we faced about and beheld much the same scene as that of yesterday, except that it was encircled by a far more gaudily dressed assemblage of chiefs and soldiers, grouped under umbrellas of every hue. All the ministers and caboo-

ceers were arrayed in red striped flowing robes, laden with necklaces of coral and other beads. Each wore a scimetar, a short sword, and a club.

Presently, under a salute of twenty-one guns fired from musketoons and small brass pieces within the court and cannon outside, the king arrived, dressed in a white silk flowing robe, flowered in blue, and a gold-laced hat, and took his seat on a sofa under the pavilion. Forthwith, the bands struck up, and the heralds proclaimed that Gezo, the Leopard and the Hawk, had taken his place; fifty-eight ministers and cabooceers at the same time marched passed three times in single file, and at the third time all prostrated and kissed the dust. So soon as this ceremony was concluded, the business of the day commenced, the Ek-bah-tong-ek-beh ("carrying goods to market"). This is a public display of the monarch's wealth, carried on the heads of slaves through the town to the market, and back again. The procession consisted of between 6000 and

7000 people; and in order to give an entire description of this despot's wealth, a programme of the whole will be annexed, while I shall, in this journal, merely give an outline.

The procession.

After the tedious prostrations of every officer, from the cabooceers to eunuchs, had been brought to a close, the king left his throne, and passing the neutral ground, came towards us. We rose to salute him; and after a few compliments, and explanations that owing to the heavy appearance of the weather the dresses were by no means gay, he returned to his throne. Some more prostrations of native traders from Whydah and Haussa Malams followed, and whilst some fourteen liberated Africans shouted *Viva el rey*, 200 male and 200 female officers kissed the dust. Forty female standard bearers next passed, preceding his Majesty's female relations, who all kissed the dust; and then followed in single file 2539 women, carrying various articles: then 1590 carried cowries. Many bore silver ornaments of all kinds; some large and ill-

shaped, fashioned by Dahoman artisans. Lest we should not fully appreciate his supposed wealth, Hootoojee and the king's artisan brother were seated in our vicinity to explain the value of the various articles. A reference to the programme will satisfy the reader that his Majesty could not have formed any precise idea of the actual use of some portions of his wealth, or he would not have exposed them to enhance the idea of his riches; a few carriages were drawn past, and, at intervals, ladies of the harem trooped by, attended by guards of amazons, "the royal banner, and all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war," such as drums ornamented with one or two dozen skulls, interlaced with jaw bones. One umbrella, that shaded a sable princess, was decorated with 148 human jaw bones, and many of these ladies, besides being attended by slaves carrying swords and shields, bearing these ghastly ornaments, carried at their girdles each a polished skull drinking-cup: these latter groups did not leave the yard, but took up their positions under

trees, and, in opera style, sang and danced at times. Towards the evening, some 2000 amazons were collected in close column, under arms, and in their front all the ladies of the royal family and harem. Mingled with the procession would be groups of females from various parts of Africa, each performing the peculiar dance, of her country. When these were not being performed, the ladies would now seize their shields and dance a shield-dance; then a musket, a sword, a bow and arrow dance, in turns. Sometimes one would step forward and harangue the monarch in verse, whilst the chorus was taken up by all, the amazons and the rest of the people; and, lastly, having expended all their praises, they called upon the king to come out and dance with them, and they did not call in vain.

The king's dance.

The monarch, although a stately figure, is by no means a good dancer, yet what a king performs courtiers will ever approve. Loud shouts of applause crowned the royal exertions, and amid the din of

firing, shouting, singing, and dancing, his majesty, hidden as usual by cloths from public gaze, drank to his sable thousands of wives. The dance was a working of all the muscles of the body, the hands and feet moving to a quick step; there is nothing graceful, nor strikingly active, while to dance well requires great muscular labour.

These scenes were very enlivening, and certainly the most picturesque and theatrical of any out-of-door fête I have ever witnessed in any part of the world; but there was no wealth, no riches in reality, although the gaudy colours were equally pleasing to the eye. The collection of a country fair in England, carried in a similar manner, would by far have exceeded the wealth displayed, and the dresses of a minor theatre would, except in silver and coral, have excelled in point of value and show. Yet, in a country like Dahomey, it was an immense collection.

During the day, rum and food were distributed to all, and, as usual, a luncheon

was supplied to us. Our luncheon consists, daily, of fowl soup in a washhand-basin, and, generally, stewed fowls, mutton, besides a host of country dishes, rife with palm oil and peppers, yam, and cassado; the knives and forks I was strongly tempted to steal, as they were worthy, in point of antiquity, of the British Museum, and, like many of the royal treasures, might have been the property of Tocoodoonoo, the founder of Dahomey. Liquors and liqueurs were always before us.

The procession and groups consisted of between 6000 and 7000 people, and the amount of money displayed in cowries (the currency of Dahomey) was 5000 dollars, which, I should say from my experience, would be the whole of the royal exchequer, in that form of money.

The human victims.

There was much to disgust the white man in the number of human skulls and jaw bones displayed; but can the reader imagine twelve unfortunate human beings lashed hand and foot, and tied in small canoes and baskets, dressed in clean white

dresses, with a high red cap, carried on the heads of fellow-men.

These and an alligator and a cat were the gift of the monarch to the people — prisoners of war, whose only crime was that they were of the nation of Attahpahm, which nation Dahomey had picked out for destruction; and *væ victis!* These men were not soldiers, but agriculturists, not living in the protection of a town, nor found under arms, but discovered peaceably in possession of their farms; they had seen the aged of their families murdered, and the young and strong seized, and being chosen, were to become the sacrifices to the vitiated appetites of the soldiers, made by the monarch, who, to show his liberality, presented able-bodied, strong men as victims.

When carried round the court, they bore the gaze of their enemies without shrinking; at the foot of the throne they halted, while the mayo presented each with a head of cowries, extolling the munificence of the monarch, who sent it to them to purchase

a last meal, for to-morrow they were to die.

About three it rained hard, and we retired with much food for contemplation.

During the day, the mae-hae-pah and toonoo-noo were continually employed in passing messages from the king to us, concerning the different articles displayed. Much rum was distributed to the various attendants, and about 800 dollars in cowries to the different groups.

PART III.

THE EK-QUE-NOO-AH-TOH-MEH. — THE HUMAN SACRIFICES.

On the last day of May commenced the custom of the Ek-que-noo-ah-toh-meh, or throwing the presents from the Ah-toh. It is on this day that the human sacrifices are offered by the king, his gifts to his people. In the centre of the Ah-jah-ee marketplace, a platform was erected twelve feet in height, enclosed by a parapet breast high. The whole was covered with cloths of all colours, and surmounted by tents, gaudy umbrellas, and banners of varied hues and devices, among which, as usual, were several union jacks. On the west front of the Ah-toh, which must have been at least 100 feet square, was a barrier of the prickly acacia, and within this the victims for the day's sacrifice lashed in baskets and canoes as on yesterday. A dense

THE PLATFORM OF THE AH-TOH

naked mob occupied the area, whilst a guard of soldiers prevented them from bearing down the barrier. Beyond in all directions were groups of people collected round the banners and umbrellas of the different ministers and cabooceers.

The naked mob consisted of the soldiers of the king, his brothers and sons, the ministers and higher cabooceers: each carried a grass cloth bag round his waist; and the actual business of the day was a public display of the generosity of the king, who scrambles goods of all kinds among these warriors.

The king had preceded us, and, as we took our seats under a canopy to the right of the Ah-toh, his Majesty appeared on the platform, under the shade of a handsome umbrella of crimson velvet and gold, dressed in an old black waistcoat, a white night-cap, and a cloth round his loins; and was greeted with loud shouts from the military expectants, who now formed into bands, and carrying their officers on their shoulders, marched past the royal posi-

tion, the king's own taking the lead: this they did three times and then halted *en masse*, in all about 3000, immediately under the king's position, who harangued them on the impropriety of fighting during the scramble, and having thrown a few cowries by way of trial, commanded us to join him.

The platform.

Ascending the ladder, the appearance was truly novel: in three separate heaps, in different parts of the platform, were 3000 heads of cowries, several heaps of cloths, rum in kegs, and rolls of tobacco: one side was occupied by tents for the royal wives. While others were grouped about in different parts of the platform, in gaudy dresses, at the upper end stood the king surrounded by his ministers, and at the lower were, under canopies of showy umbrellas, two tables bearing liquors and glasses, one for the cha-cha, the other for ourselves. After taking our seats, we were directed to stand under an umbrella facing the mob, and now commenced in real earnest the scramble, the king labouring hard, throwing now cowries, cloth,

tobacco, &c. The cowries appeared to be the property of the lucky ones who caught them, but the cloths were instantly handed to the riders, and if not, a fight ensued that was terrible to behold.

The naked multitude emitted an effluvium only to be compared to the fetid atmosphere of a slave ship; and as the mass oscillated there arose a vapour like the miasma of a swamp, as they were perfectly bathed with perspiration.

Besides throwing gifts to the soldiers, his Majesty was all smiles, and liberality in his donations to the ministers, and a number of others (as a reference to the programme will show); but to no one was any large sum given. At one time he sent us a basket containing ten heads of cowries and two pieces of cloth as a present, and at another a constant supply of cowries and cloths to scramble among the mob.

Among the recipients of the royal bounty were two kings and several ambassadors, including one from Ashantee, called "Cocoa Sautee."

Towards noon the brigantine on wheels was drawn up outside the mob, and a boat on wheels put off to discharge her cargo of rum, tobacco and cowries, which were added to the heaps on the platform. The king's party of soldiers keeping together were evidently the principal recipients, and we soon found that something like an equal distribution among them was aimed at. A captain of musquetoon-men nāmed Poh-veh-soh, at once a military officer, court fool and headsman, caught my attention, and I threw him three pieces of cloth full of cowries; on receiving the third, he was ordered off the ground. Rum was distributed to the *élite* on the platform; and a breakfast provided for us, besides food for the ministers and wives.

By two o'clock, one of the heaps of 1000 heads of cowries had been thrown away, and part of another given to the higher classes. Some three or four hundred pieces of cloth, a few kegs of rum, and rolls of tobacco having also disappeared, his Majesty retired to rest awhile.

Would to God that I could here close the account of this day's proceedings, simply detailing the barbarous policy of raising the worst passions of man, in order to make people believe in the profuse distribution of a pay, which, if doled out individually, would be a mere pittance. The crowd can have no idea of the sum scrambled for; all they know is, that a continuous shower is kept up for seven hours, and they consider it must be immense. Even if a man gets none, he is content to know that he has been unfortunate; and, should he proclaim his ill luck, he would not be believed, each supposing the other to be disguising the real quantity he has gained.

The deceitfulness of the distribution

During the royal absence a dead silence reigned as if by general consent; when by accident it was broken, it was reinforced by the eunuchs sounding their metal bells, tolling the knell of eleven human beings. Out of fourteen now brought on the platform, we, the unworthy instruments of the Divine will succeeded in saving the lives of

The human victims.

three. Lashed as we described before, these sturdy men met the gaze of their persecutors, with a firmness perfectly astonishing. Not a sigh was breathed. In all my life I never saw such coolness so near death. It did not seem real, yet it soon proved frightfully so. One hellish monster placed his finger to the eyes of a victim who hung down his head, but, finding no moisture, drew upon himself the ridicule of his fiendish coadjutors. Ten of the human offerings to the bloodthirsty mob, and an alligator and a cat, were guarded by soldiers, the other four by amazons.

Three are saved by us.

In the mean time the king returned, and, calling us from our seats at the further end of the platform, asked if we would wish to witness the sacrifice. With horror we declined, and begged to be allowed to save a portion of them. After some conversation with his courtiers, seeing him wavering, I offered him a hundred dollars each for the first and last of the ten, while, at the same time, Mr. Beecroft made a similar offer for the first of the four, which was accepted,

and the three were immediately unlashed from their precarious position, but forced to remain spectators of the horrid deed to be done on their less fortunate countrymen. What must have been their thoughts?

The place of sacrifice.

The king insisted on our viewing the place of sacrifice. Immediately under the royal stand, within the brake of acacia bushes, stood seven or eight fell ruffians, some armed with clubs, others with scimetars, grinning horribly. As we approached, the mob yelled fearfully, and called upon the king to "feed them, they were hungry." It was at a similar exhibition that Achardee (President of Jena), while looking into the pit with the king, was seized, thrown down, and murdered on the spot. Disgusted beyond the powers of description, we retired to our seats, where also the cha-cha had retreated; not so his brothers, for I regret to say they remained delighted spectators of the agonies of the death of these innocent victims.

"The parent Sun himself
Seems o'er this world of slaves to tyrannize;

> "And, with oppressive ray the roseate bloom
> Of beauty blasting, gives the gloomy hue
> And feature gross; or worse, to ruthless deeds,
> Mad jealousy, blind rage, and fell revenge
> Their fervid spirit fires."
>
> THOMSON'S *Summer*.

The victims of the sacrifice, and the sacrificers.

As we reached our seats, a fearful yell rent the air. The victims were held high above the heads of their bearers, and the naked ruffians thus acknowledged the munificence of their prince. Silence again ruled, and the king made a speech, stating that of his prisoners he gave a portion to his soldiers, as his father and grandfather had done before. These were Attahpahms. Having called their names, the one nearest was divested of his clothes, the foot of the basket placed on the parapet, when the king gave the upper part an impetus, and the victim fell at once into the pit beneath. A fall of upwards of twelve feet might have stunned him, and before sense could return the head was cut off, and the body thrown to the mob, who, now armed with clubs and branches, brutally mutilated, and dragged it to a distant pit,

THE HUMAN SACRIFICE IN THE

EK-GNEE-NOO-AH-TOH

where it was left as food for the beasts and birds of prey. After the third victim had thus been sacrificed, the king retired, and the chiefs and slave-dealers completed the deed which the monarch blushed to finish.

There was not even the poor excuse that these men had committed a crime, or even borne arms against the Dahomans. No; they were murdered, innocent men, at least as far as their barbarous tyrant knew; and if not, may God forgive them in the world to come!

As we descended the ladder, we came on another scene of this tragedy. Each in the basket in which the victim had sat a few moments before, lay the grizzly bleeding heads, five on one side, six on the other. We could not have expected any mercy would have been shown, and therefore were prepared for this spectacle.

Murder must work its own suppression; and a nation that practises such foul deeds will, it is to be hoped, soon be forced to mend its ways and change its customs.

"There is no sure foundation set in blood,
No certain life achiev'd by others' death."

The expenses of the day to the king in all did not exceed 2,000 dollars, as heaps of cowries and other articles were still on the platform when we left, and all was over.

PART IV.

THE CUSTOM EK-BEH-SOH-EK-BEH, OR "FIRING THE GUNS."

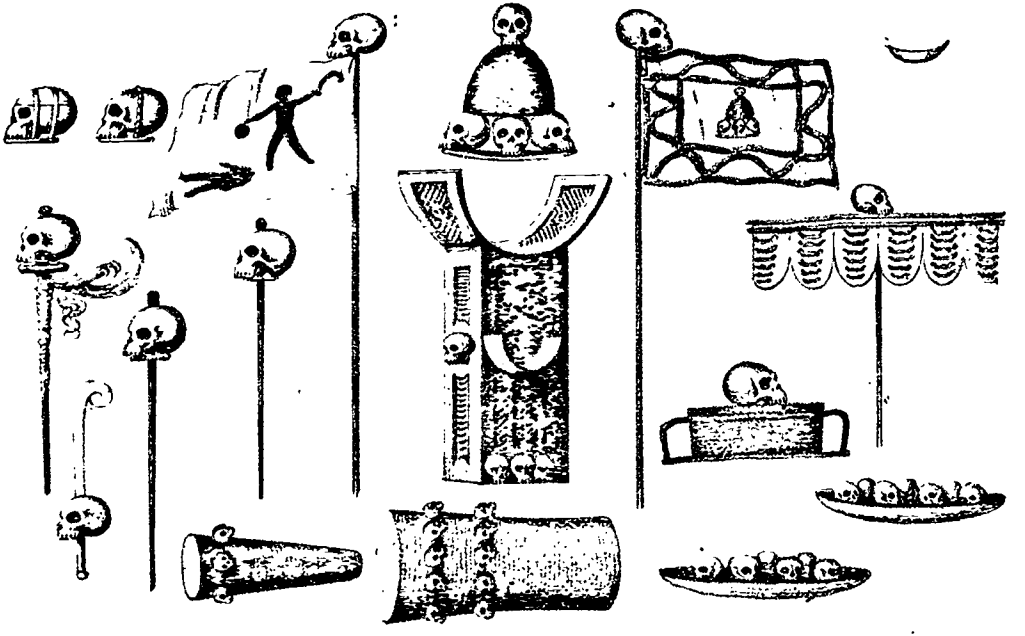
June 1.—AFTER the distressing excitement of the tragedy of the sacrifices, it was with no little feeling of relief, that, on our return to the scene of yesterday's slaughter, we found the platform of the sacrifices removed, and the ground in course of being prepared for the great review, called the ek-beh-soh ek-beh. The stench of the blood still, however, pervaded the spot from which the slain had not been removed. The Ah-jah-hee market was now covered with numerous bodies of troops, male and female, forming and marching past our position in slow time. We thus had an opportunity of carefully counting their numbers, and made them out to be in all rather less than 7,000 under arms, of which 4,400 were males and the remainder

The review of the troops.

amazons. All were armed, accoutred, and dressed as nearly as possible alike, in blue and white tunics, short trowsers and caps, bearing the different devices of their regiments. First came the retainers of each cabooceer, then those of the ministers, the king's sons and brothers, and lastly, of the king.

The order was thus in each squadron: the armed men, the standard, stool, and other insignia, and then the officer under his umbrella of state, followed by a band. The amazons next marched by in similar array; each army had in its war drums, standards, war-stools, shields ornamented with human skulls, and other ghastly emblems of barbarous warfare.

Scarcely had the whole passed than the king arrived on the ground, carried in a state hammock with gaudy hangings. His Majesty was in tunic and short trowsers; the only ornaments were neat military accoutrements. To-day the whole nation was military; mother, wife, daughter, minister, even the hunchbacks and dwarfs, were



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strutting by in all the pride of military array.

The king took his seat under a canopy of umbrellas, and placed us on his right: about the royal person were the ministers and high military officers; at the foot of the throne sat the too-noo-noo; and now in the distance, ready at call, appeared the mae-hae-pah, a soldier too. As soon as the king was seated, the troops, male and female, marched past in quick time; 77 banners and 160 huge umbrellas enlivening the scene; while 55 discordant bands, and the shouts of the soldiers as they hailed the king *en passant*, almost deafened the observers.

The skirmishing of the male guards.

The royal male regiments separating from the main body, headed by an emblem of a leopard on a staff, skirmished towards the royal canopy, keeping up a constant independent fire. In advance was a band of blunderbuss-men in long green grass cloaks, for bush service. Halting in front, they held aloft their muskets with one hand, while with the other they rattled a

small metal bell, which each soldier carried, and yelled and shouted. Some having light ornamented pieces, flung them into the air, to catch them again. This is the Dahoman salute; and in answer to it, his Majesty left his war-stool, and, placing himself at their head, danced a war-dance. First, he received a musket and fired it, then danced, advanced, and retired; he then crept cautiously forward, and, standing on tiptoe, reconnoitred; this he did several times, dancing each time a retreat: at last, making certain of the position of the enemy, he received and fired a musket, and this was the signal for all, with a war-cry, to rush on and recommence firing. On their recall, having again saluted, the king returned to his tent, and told us he had been to war.

"The royal war dance.

The soldiers next saluted Domingo José Martins, the slave-dealer, who had just arrived from Whydah in sixteen hours (having placed relays of hammockmen along the road). They thanked him for muskets and powder he had given them for the

The honours paid to Domingo José Martins.

last war. Again they danced, saluted, and marched off.

The amazons' war dance and chorus.

The amazons now advanced in the same order, and having saluted the king he joined them, and again performed a war dance. They also sang in praise of the liberality of the slave-dealer, who gave them muskets and powder to make war upon innocent neighbours; to enrich himself by supplying the market with slaves. These are the evils to uproot: and yet this very man is directly trading with, and receives these muskets and this powder from, British agents in British shipping. The chorus of their song ran as follows: —

"Dae mee goo
Scotoo ah noo
Ah dae mee Gaezoo."

Which may be thus translated:

Domingo
Gave us muskets and powder
To fight for Gezo.

After much firing, the amazons took position to the left, and having formed a

canopy in the centre for their officers, who sat on stools, squatted on their hams. In this undignified but usual position, with their long Danish muskets standing up like a forest, they remained observers of the remainder of the operation. This now became a sort of military levee, at which each chief prostrated before the king, introduced his officers, and reported the numbers of his retainers.

The military levee.

Having taken ground at the further end of the field, one at a time, the squadrons enfiladed between two fetish houses, and commenced an independent open fire, and deploying into line, passed to the right of the royal stool, while the officers came up at double quick time, prostrated themselves, danced, fired muskets, and then received each as a mark of favour a bottle of rum. After the cabooceers had thus passed, the ministers performed the same ceremony. Among them was Señor Ignatio Da Souza, the slave-dealer and cabooceer, at the head of his brother the cha-cha's levies. As they danced down towards the royal seat, the

king left his throne, and went out and danced with him.

A regiment advanced guarding the idols of the military fetishes, the king again left his stool, and poured some rum on black puddings of human blood which were carried by the fetish priests. At seven the last body had passed, that of the mayo's company of 300 men, which ended the review.

The procession of the military fetish.

Order and discipline were observable throughout, uniform and good accoutrements general, and except in the most civilised countries in the world, and even there as regarded the order of the multitude, no review could have gone off better. There was no delay, no awkwardness, no accident: aides-de-camp were rushing about with orders; it was noble and extremely interesting. Every facility was offered us towards acquiring information, and, except an exaggeration in numbers, truly given. The king has great pride in his army and often turned to us with an inquiring eye as the amazons went through their evolutions: he is justly proud of these female

guards, who appear in every way to rival the male.

The visit of the mayo.

June 2nd. — Sunday, and by good luck no barbarous customs enacted that we were called upon to witness, although an intimation that we were not to walk abroad at night, told of foul murder. The mayo called. He is a little old man with good Roman features, nothing of the negro, about seventy-five years of age, and a confirmed slave-dealer, his forefathers were, and he has been such all his life. Here is a difficulty: the power of the mayo is very great, the monarch dare not enter into a treaty unless the miegan and the mayo coincide. The miegan, a man of forty, is also a slave-dealer by descent, as also are the camboodee and ee-a-voo-gan, reaping all the benefits, and deriving luxuries, from a trade of which they have not sense to know the horrors. In conversation, the minister complained that British goods could not be had in the same quality as those sold in former years; and, producing a piece half silk half cotton, he said the king had had

it twenty years, and had directed him to ask if we could procure more. Having explained to him that an honest-minded British merchant would not trade with slave-dealers, and that such as did trade could not be expected to offer good articles, we promised to make a note of the royal wish.

Mr. Beecroft showed him some silk handkerchiefs, such as are bartered on the rivers, and told him if he would grow palm oil he might have ship-loads of such; and explained to him the position of the natives in those countries that had relinquished the barbarous infamous slave trade, and had become civilised by intercourse with honest traders, and the all-civilising powers of trade, but I fear to little purpose. Pocketing two gold rings and a handkerchief he bid us good-bye, explaining that the slave trade was very lucrative, and it would take some time to grow the palm-trees.

June 3rd.—At half-past seven we entered the palace yard of Dange-lah-cordeh. At the

Repetition of the ek-bah-tong-ek-beh.

steps of the palaver house were again six newly cut off heads, and a pool of human blood lay clotted on the threshold of the entrance-gate. To-day was a repetition of the custom called "ek-bah-tong-ek-beh," "carrying goods to market," and a beautiful day.

As we entered there was a perfect blaze of dress; the ministers in long cloaks of crimson silk velvet, highly ornamented with gold embroidery. The king wore a large slouched hat, covered with gold lace and tassels, a satin white robe, with blue flowers, and sandals almost of solid silver; you could not see the leather. The amazons were in scarlet and crimson tunics, and their officers ornamented with gold embroidery.

The principal ladies of the harem, and elderly female ministers, and those holding the rank of royal mother, grandmother, &c., up to the sixteenth generation, were magnificently dressed in silks, satins, and velvets, hats and plumes of the time of Charles the Second. But these rich dresses

did not save the wearers from the eternal prostration. As before, the amazons towards the afternoon had collected round some trees, and in front were the paussee, a collection of royal wives, who sang, danced, and declaimed at intervals, in the fashion of an opera; while the procession passed carrying goods to market, for the particulars of which the reader must turn to the Appendix.

Many of the articles were the same, except that for the cowries, cloths, silks, and satins were substituted. A great number of carriages were drawn past, of all sizes, from the family coach to the Bath chair, some handsomely carved: one, a glass-coach, the handiwork of Hoo-ton-gee, a native artist — a square with four large glass windows, on wheels. Some of the positions taken up were beautifully picturesque.

The too-noo-noo and mae-hae-pah were very busy between the king's and our position, carrying reports of the value and age of different articles. Among the display

was a wooden model of a hill in the Kangaroo country, considered by the natives impregnable, but taken by storm by the Dahoman amazons. To inspect this we were called to the neutral ground.

The late Mr. Duncan, with a military eye, requested to be allowed to view this fortress, as he travelled by it attended by a Dahoman guard, on his way to the Kong Mountains; the request was indignantly refused, with an intimation that he had better quit the neighbourhood as early as possible. For this "insult" the king of Dahomey made war. The hill was surmounted by a large city built on a table land, perpendicular in the rear and sides, and sloping down to a point in front; this was guarded by a high stone rampart, and entered only by one gate. On the hill were two tanks for water in case of siege, and on the right side a deep cave for the besieged to retreat to. On this side the rampart was escaladed by "Ee-ah-wae," one of the amazon generals, who, as "English mother," had the post of honour; and her

club of office is planted on the model, where it stands out of all proportion.

We were next called to inspect a battery of wall pieces and blunderbusses, besides a seven-barrelled arquebuse. His Majesty sent to say that he wanted a few more; but, said the mayo, pointing to one with a percussion lock, not of that useless kind, but flint locks.

Towards the close his Majesty invited us into his tent, to the undisguised astonishment of 200 wives and virgins who squatted around the throne, a large sofa, on which were some European children's toys, as dogs and cats, and over which was a pure white large umbrella. Although the tent was forty feet high, and very thick, several dimple-faced ladies sat under crimson velvet parasols, covered with jewels. These were the favourite wives. His Majesty having explained to us that the tent was very old, requested me, as I was going to England, to convey his hopes that her Majesty would send him out two more.

The whole procession having passed, and

all the actors being on the stage, now singing and shouting a chorus to a laudatory lay of an ex-wife of the chamber, at 6 P.M. we took leave, attended to the centre of the outer court by the king and all his court, and were directed to take dinner, and be ready to attend his Majesty on a night excursion.

The night excursion.

At 7 we again started, and followed the royal host of males, the amazon host bringing up the rear, to the Ah-jah-ee market, where the king and nobles assembled to eat pork puddings in a temporary canvass shed. We were supplied with a large calabash full of these dainties, but as it was very dark we did not eat of them. The king sent us a present of four heads of cowries, and, taking leave, we reached home at 10. His Majesty's expenses in gifts would be about 300 dollars' worth of cowries.

June 4th. — By royal desire, we attended this morning to measure the tent and sofa, and take a plan of it, that the new ones should be like it. In the yard were arranged 800 heads of cowries, and

about one pipe of rum; these, we were told, were to pay the parties employed yesterday, and about 200 heads were given away before we left. In the evening the mayo, whom we had been constantly attacking on the subject, brought the three victims we purchased. The reason they had not been sent before was obvious from the emaciated appearance of one, who was suffering from dysentery brought on by fright; we gave him some diarrhœa powder, which soon relieved him, and we clothed and fed the whole.

Our daily life.

June 5th. — Every morning we rise at daylight, and take a long walk. The roads in all directions are beautiful, and the scenery still more so; in the immediate neighbourhood the farms are very neat, and the cultivation in high order; game is abundant, and constantly rising close to the road. At 7 we take a cigar, and breakfast at 8; then, unless a custom day, write until 4, walk till 6, and dine; after which stroll till 8; then a cigar, a glass of grog, and to bed.

Several grandees, besides sending their sticks in the morning, have called; among them, the Chief of the Hunchbacks, who is a great man. Numbers of the royal family have also paid us visits; but as each expects a present, we are not over-anxious for the honour. To-day the king's artisan brother called, and, seeing he had interrupted us in our writing, soon took leave, saying, "I am a working man myself, and when employed do not like visitors."

When we are out walking everybody is very civil indeed; yet the king directs our interpreters, on pain of punishment, not to let us go alone: thus we have, generally, three or four followers. This is not so much with an idea that any one would insult us, as that we might infringe on the jealousy of the fetish men by unguardedly entering into the precincts of sacred ground. Thus, for instance, on leaving the Cannah gate one morning, I found one of the two roads which lead from it closed by a spar laid across; passing down the other, I was told this was the first day of the new moon, and

that the road would be closed until the next moon, when the thoroughfare would again be changed. If a native passes this sacred ground with his hat on, he is seized, and, unless he can pay pretty handsomely, kept in prison, and sold to pay his debts there incurred.

June 6th. — We are constantly annoyed in our walks at finding one or other of the roads closed; and, as for attempting some leading to the palace, we find that almost useless; the bells of the sable beauties are constantly warning man to run and hide himself. I was one morning near three quarters of an hour endeavouring to enter the Cumassee gate, from the constant succession of royal wives carrying food from one palace to the other. This morning, as we were leaving, we were desired not to go to the eastward, as 4000 of the king's wives (amazons, &c.) were gone forth to bathe.

A body of liberated Africans called upon us; some had paid 300 dollars in Bahia and Rio for their freedom, men from Yori- Liberated Africans.

bah and Bornou, and had landed in high hopes of reaching their country. Such was not their lot; they were compelled to trade in Whydah; nor can they leave it, unless with the chance of being again sold, if caught by the Dahoman guards. They are obliged to give up their trade, and attend the annual customs, spending, as they explained, their year's gains in the journey.

Many of them are slave-dealers; indeed, one of the greatest slave-merchants, José Almeida, is one of their class. An African, a *soi-disant* servant now of Hutton and Co., arrived on a mission from that house to the king, concerning some duties paid for the trade at Badagry; this is the man spoken of in my former journal, a well-known "friend" to the slave-trade.

The viceroy of Whydah.

June 7th.—Walked to a country called Dehkon, the hereditary possession of the viceroy of Whydah; but the king, who is father of the nation, takes great liberties with his subjects' rights and privileges. On appointing Dagbah to the vice-regal stool at Whydah, the king called upon his

second brother to assume the chiefdom of the clan (for such is the proper term for African families), and Dagbah has now the privilege of being considered lord and master only when, as the eldest son, he makes the yearly sacrifice to the tombs of his ancestors, and keeps customs for his whole clan. This is a custom observed by all Dahomans; and they set a table, as they term it, and invite friends to eat with the deceased relatives, whose spirits are supposed to move round and partake of the good things of this life. Even my interpreter, Madi-ki Lemon, who pretends to despise the belief in fetish, sets a table to his ancestors, and will tell you that his grand or great-grandfather, Corporal Lemon, makes a meal on this occasion which will last him till the next annual feast.

Feast of the spirits of the dead.

At half past nine, we again entered the palace of Dange-lah-cordeh. We were ushered into an inner court, the door of which was ornamented with two human skulls. The court was in shape a parallelogram, one of the lengthened sides being

The custom of paying the ministers and great officers.

occupied by a long low-roofed building, in the centre of which were two canopies of coloured cloths, one for the king and his first wives, the other for the females of the blood royal. At the further end stood three small tents, the centre one surmounted by a large silver ostrich, with outstretched wings, under which were two real ostrich's eggs; the other two covering each a large glass chandelier. As usual there was a neutral ground, on one side of which sat the amazons; on the other we occupied the principal position, surrounded by ministers, &c. On the neutral ground were the ornamented skulls of kings; and on their knees, engrossed in serious converse, the too-noo-noo and mae-hae-pah. As usual the mayo and ee-a-voo-gan were prostrate in the dirt, while we bowed to the king; and a band of singers and music called upon the assemblage to look with pride at their king, visited by ambassadors of all nations and colours.

We were no sooner seated, as usual with several bottles of strong waters at our dis-

posal, than a herald stepped forward, and called the camboodee (treasurer) and too-noo-noo (eunuch), who, prostrating, crawled to a crimson velvet cloth in front of the royal seat, on each side of which they sat to superintend the disbursements which the generosity of the monarch bestowed on his officers. The herald having called the miegan, who was sick, next called the mayo. The aged minister flung himself into the dust, and crawled on to the crimson cloth, where he knelt, and received in his robe (a handsome highly embroidered sky-blue cloth) from the royal hand 16,000 cowries, and 8 dollars, with which he staggered to the rear, when, having counted them, he returned, knelt, and threw dirt on his head and arms. What a state of subjection, when it is understood that this man pays 2000 heads of cowries annually to the king!

In this way followed the several ministers, cabooceers, traders, and high officers, a list of whom is annexed; the greater part receiving only a head and a half of

cowries, but all performing the same degrading and disgusting ceremony. The royal bounty was extended to strangers; the cha-cha and ourselves received each six heads of cowries, but instead of kotowing we drank health in gin.

In the courtyard were two crown birds and a beautiful gazelle. Heralds proclaimed the royal titles, and sycophants extolled in flowing language the liberality of the monarch. Several court fools exercised their wit and ingenuity.

The court fools and their tricks

Poh-veh-soo, the headsman and fool, before named, has a coadjutor in the harem; this pair of ruffians were marked round the eyes and mouth with whitewash, thus giving the head the appearance of a skull. As an interlude, about noon, the gates of each end of the quadrangle were thrown open, and a party of men and women, jaded and overladen, the former headed by Poh-veh-soo the latter by his coadjutor, were seen to advance towards the king's position. It would appear to require all the care and attention of the master and mis-

tress to keep their overladen carriers from dropping: they wiped off the perspiration, fed them with corn, rubbed their joints, and did all they could to make their large loads bearable. At last they reached the foot of the throne; and in the middle of a speech made by Poh-veh-soo, and interlarded by his coadjutor, in which they explained that from a great distance they had brought these baskets of corn and burdens of fire-wood, to present them to the most liberal generous monarch in the known world, exhausted nature apparently gave way, the carriers tottered, and falling exposed baskets of shavings and straw, and bundles of pith of bamboo.

Another fool rolled to the foot of the throne in a bag, and imitating the call of the guinea-fowl, pecked up the corn which the king threw to him in the shape of cowries, which act of liberality was at once lauded by the sycophants and other courtier fools.

Poh-veh-soo, in the mask of a monkey, helped himself liberally to quantities of food, The court dwarfs and giants.

now brought in to be distributed among the assembled thousands. All the sublime and ridiculous of the court were assembled in the palace yard to-day: men of all heights, from giants to the dwarf of inches, hunchbacks, albinos, and all that is hideous in the human race, besides beautiful birds, the gazelle, and dogs of all kinds. Altogether there were given away about 800 heads of cowries. On leaving, I asked my interpreter how many heads of cowries he thought had been given away; at first he could not answer, then he said more than 10,000: such is the idea the Dahomans have of the liberality of their king. In the afternoon we went to the Ah-jah-ee market. The supply was small, but few fowls, &c.; every thing appeared more in sample than the supply of a four days' fair.

June 8th. — Visited the Beh-kon market; similar to the one yesterday. Called on the mayo on duty at the court; he was reclining on a mat together with the other officers on duty.

Supplies of

Examining an old tree in our yard I ob-

served two small eggs, and presently a large shell snail dropped from the hollow to protect them; these eggs are frequently found in old trees in all this part of Africa. food and water.

Our stock has become short, and the demands of the numbers of strangers make every thing scarce, an egg not to be had, nor do the Dahomans "waste" their time in growing fruits. Yesterday we sent a distance of twenty miles to procure eggs and oranges, and to-day have abundance. Pretty good mutton, guinea-fowls, pigeons, fowls, and ducks, are almost always to be had; the pork is by no means tempting. Just outside our gate are the city shambles. Not much is killed, generally five to ten pigs, and as many goats. Every portion is saved and cooked at once, the blood alone being thrown to the turkey-buzzards; yet ten cowries, one farthing, will procure a sizeable piece of meat and pepper sauce. Provisions for the poor are cheap, except water, which is 2*d.*, 3*d.*, and 4*d.* a pot; and the poor go for a length of time without water. At daylight there are numbers of providers, and for a

very few cowries, about a halfpenny, a very substantial breakfast can be procured, hot and oily with chillies and palm oil. The Dahoman can be abstemious, but if he has not to pay for his dinner, he will eat till he cannot walk, and then lie and wallow, suffering under indigestion, and, like a boa constrictor, too full to move.

Our attendants.

June 9th. — The Brazilians have been closeted all day with the king, I fear with no good wishes to the prosperity of our mission. We have twenty-six hammock-men, twenty carriers, and forty women ditto, besides headmen and their servants, two interpreters (one of whom has two wives and five attendants), two valets, one cook, and two house-servants. Besides these the mayo appoints a man to get wood, one to get water, one to take messages, and another to clean the yard, and all their appointments are sinecures; while two old wretches, whom I have nicknamed turkey-buzzards, are ever prying about, picking up what they can. Besides the above and our three "saved," if the king sends a

present of food, eight or ten hulking fellows attend it; and more than its value has to be given them in rum, and about a gallon daily to the bearers of sticks with their masters' compliments. The subsistence, as it is termed, for carriers and hammockmen, when, like ours, lying idle, is three strings of cowries, or 3*d.*, for men, and two for women, per day. Every week it costs us upwards of ten heads of cowries merely to subsist our people, and about fourteen gallons of rum, which articles (besides cost) will require four men to bring them from Whydah.

These "our people," as they are termed, expect every now and then a present; and this evening we indulged them in a beaker of rum, but not before they had earned it. Forming a ring, we took our seats at the upper end, and lighting our cigars soon collected a vast crowd. The dance is no doubt hard work, but unseemly and indelicate, being a constant working of arms and legs, calling every muscle into play. Men and women all dance alike. After receiving

a present, it is customary to assemble an hour after and return thanks.

The king's wives, and their petty trading.

A blacksmith living near the gate has for a long time determined to be friends with me, and to-day he brought some fresh eggs, which he explained were purchased from the harem. It appears that a male guard is on the outside of each gate, and the very elderly ladies are allowed to sell the little hoards of the sable wives.

Female relatives are allowed ingress and egress at all times.

As a protection against adultery, the fetish people plant a charm under the threshold of the entrances into the palace harems; and the people believe, if a woman has gone astray, the charm has the power of communicating a bowel disease: however that may be, the belief is so strong that many have imagined themselves ill and confessed the name of the lover, whereupon both have been beheaded.

June 10*th.*—Walked for the second time to the magnificent view, about five miles from Abomey, already described by me.

As the king had sent to say he would pass our door in the afternoon, we, with much regret, returned. On passing the palace gate, his Majesty was honouring. Domingo José Martins, on taking leave, with a review of three regiments of amazons. This millionnaire, at the desire of the king, and to his own interest, had visited the customs, but was now returning to Porto Novo to load two English vessels, the Foam and another. No one doubts that Domingo José Martins is the greatest slave-dealer in all Africa; or if he does, ask him, and he will not dispute the title; yet he carries on a vast trade in British vessels.

The royal ballet.

According to etiquette, we descended from our hammocks, whither we had retreated from the sun's heat, and made our bow to the king, who drank healths with us, and asked if we had brought him any specimens from the bush. We told him our canteen preceded us, but we would send him samples of the good things that grew there on our arrival at our quarters. His Majesty then begged we would, when

we had changed our clothes, come and witness some dancing. We took leave, and in an hour returned, having sent him five beakers of rum, two case bottles of gin, and two of liqueurs. Martins had left, but we were entertained with some really good dancing in the ballet style. Among the dancers was one of the king's sons, and a nephew. The band at times did not please, and one of the dancers would step out and sound the notes to them. After the males had performed, a party of amazons took their place; but, as it began to rain very hard, we had to leave. Soon after our return home, his Majesty sent, as a present to us, two bullocks, corn-flour, peppers, palm oil, and salt.

Royal procession from Dange-lah-cordeh.

At 6 P. M. his majesty passed in procession from the palace of Dange-lah-cordeh to that of Dahomey. First came the cabooceers, each with his retainers, band, and official gear; then the ministers, followed by the king's levies, in the centre of whom was the royal hammock, of crimson and gold. At our gate they halted, and a bottle

of rum was sent from the royal hammock. After it came the display of skulls, before described as part of the martial array of each army; separated by about a hundred yards was the amazon host, in the centre a similar hammock and similar skull ornaments, and at a halt the present of another bottle of rum left it a matter of conjecture whether the king was guarded by the male or female guards; lastly came the eunuchs and camboodee with his retainers.

In the evening Martins called to take leave, and sat a long time. The conversation was entirely on the trade: he said he made 80,000 dollars last year by palm oil, that the slave and palm-oil trade helped each other, and that in connection he did not know which was the most profitable. He was very civil in offering us any thing his house could afford at Whydah, which, of course, we thanked him for, but did not take advantage of.

PART V.

THE KING'S COURT OF JUSTICE.*

June 11*th.* — To-day commenced the debates and trials, which proved very interesting. At these trials the king is the judge in an open court, in which a comment may be made by any individual on the conduct of other or others in the last war; and if the charge be substantiated, punishment follows. Great liberty of speech is enjoyed, and distinction of rank laid aside. Interlaced with attacks and defences, were many lengthened speeches in praise of the monarch and his liberality.

The day's proceedings took place in the

* In my first journal I have given a curious illustration of the power possessed by any headsman of a village to hold a royal court. The proceedings which occupied this day afford an additional illustration of the equity and freedom of speech which characterise the judicial proceedings of the barbarous nation.

palace of Dahomey, the ancient palace of the present race of kings. About 230 years ago, Tah-coodoonoo, the chief of the state of Fahie, made war on Abomey, and in the conquest accomplished a vow to the fetish, in ripping open the bowels of the chief " Dah," and placing the mangled remains under the foundation of a palace built in commemoration, aptly naming it Dahomey, or Dah's belly; hence the kingdom of Dahomey. It was in this palace that the royal family and military power of Dahomey met to-day to " water the graves " of Tah-coodoonoo and his family.

Africa is fraught with wars. For nearly a century Dahomey could barely repel the attacks of her neighbours. In the early part of the eighteenth century, Guadjah Trudo ascended the throne, a warlike prince; and from this reign may be dated the military fame of the Dahomans, although for nearly a century they remained tributary to the Eyeos, who are reported to have brought 100,000 horsemen into the field.

Origin of the human sacrifices.

Guadjah Trudo conquered Whydah and the other nations lying between Abomey and the sea, and thus opened an extensive slave trade with foreigners. This has continued unabated ever since, though troubled at times by the Popoes, a warlike nation on the west "sea coast," who harboured the people of Whydah, and by lagoon communication gave the Dahomans much trouble in their new conquest.

Sacrifices were inherent with the Dahomans, but this monarch instituted the "Seque-ah-hee;" and to keep up the frightful bloody fête, upwards of 200,000 human beings have been murdered. His grandson Ada Hoonzoo, the grandfather of the present monarch, first raised the amazon army, but not to its present extent, and died the M'Adam of Africa, leaving roads leading to his capital as broad as Pall Mall, and as suited to the country traffic as ours are to that of England.

Decapitation was not considered a sufficient mode of sacrifice, and this African Nero would first have their ears cut off,

their eyes gouged, their nails drawn, and on the fourth day after these terrific sufferings, end them with death. Agon-groo, the father of the present king, appears to have been a weak monarch, and during his reign he had to flee from the Eyeos. The Mahees, Anagoos, and Attahpahms also at times made inroads. He was succeeded by his son Adanazah, whose fate is uncertain: generally hated, he was, by the will of the people, deposed, and Gezo reigns in his stead. The latter monarch has conquered nearly all his neighbours, and considerably increased the extent of the kingdom of Dahomey. Among other acts, he has declared Ashantee subjugated, and built an enormous palace called Cumassee (the name of the capital of Ashantee) in commemoration.

The male and female armies, and their officers.

It may be still necessary to add a few explanations about the relative position of the two armies of Dahomey. Considered as one army, it is in two brigades, the miegan's and the mayo's, the right and the left, which are also called the agaou's and the possoo's (the titles of the generals). In

the right there are two miegans and two agaous, a male and an amazon; and the same equivalent rank is carried down to the private in each brigade, male and female. These relationships in military rank are called father and mother; and, as will appear, the male soldier, when accused, appeals to his "mother" to speak for him. Besides this military balance of power, all strangers visiting Abomey have "mothers" at once appointed, whose duty it is to send daily a quantity of food, as from the king (dabadab and palm-oil stews), and who in return expect a present. Our "mother," Ee-ah-wae, it will be remembered, is a very brave soldier. The soldiers, male and female, are all slaves, fed and clothed by their owners, and receive no pay, except what has been shown as given by the king during the customs: but war in Dahomey is a trade, and each soldier is a trader, the annual slave hunt forming the market. A price is set on each prisoner and each head, and the soldier is constrained to sell to his lawful master. As

the king has about 2,000 males and 5,000 amazons, together with those male soldiers contributed to the hunt by each town and district, he necessarily becomes a very extensive slave-procurer, at the risk, of course, of his own slaves, and at the expense of their keep, and the trifling percentage at which he purchases them.

The description of position on this day's fête will answer for all those of the "Seque-ah-ee," as most of the courts were similar, and the tombs in nothing differing. Under a canopy constructed in the roof of a low thatched building forming one side of the court called "Ah-goh-doh-meh," in the Dahomey palace, on a rich mat reclined the king; as usual attended by his host of female ministers, ladies of the blood, wives, amazons, and maidens. On the neutral ground were the skulls of kings, and strewed about large pieces of cooked meat, gorging on which were thousands of turkey-buzzards flying about with sickening familiarity. On the opposite side, facing the royal mat, we sat, surrounded, as usual, by the ministers, The Seque-ah-ee.

cabooceers, and officers. In our front was a band of singers. On the left stood three small thatched mud huts, and in the doorway of each was a pillar of cloth. Each hut was surmounted by a large silver ornament, and encircled by thousands of human skulls, thigh, jaw, and other bones. These were the mausoleums of Tah-coodoonoo and his family, and the skulls those of the sacrifices to their memory.

As we entered, the singers were singing in praise of the achievements of the Dahoman arms, and reciting the account of the Attahpahm war. It appeared probable that the charges had already been planned, as the singing is all practised beforehand, and is well considered. The rehearsals with the males take place in shaded groves, and with the females in the enclosure of the camboodee's house, the latter attended by eunuchs.

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh (one of the amazon generals) addressed them, and gave them a military and vivid description of the regaining the ground after the male army

under the agaou had fled, and told them to remember in their songs, that the amazons saved the war: "to them the praise of minstrels was due."

Ah-hoh-peh (one of the king's brothers) said that Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh spoke truth, "the amazons had saved the Dahoman army from destruction."

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh, addressing the king, said: — "The Attahpahms have sought refuge in the Ahjah country; let the war be made on Ahjah: and remember, before you go to war again, that part of 'your sons' (the male army) ran away in Attahpahm."

Ah-hoh-peh considered that the portion that gave way were not properly armed.

The soldiers thus charged with cowardice came forward and prostrated themselves on the neutral ground, and kissed the dust.*

* Although the agaou's name will often appear during these debates, there remained no doubt in my mind that he had been killed in the Attahpahm war. If a great officer be killed, it is generally considered proper to give out that he has returned, and soon after (being reported sick) he is said to have died a natural death; thus, the neighbouring countries fail to hear

King (to the accused). — "Your chief knows more about counting cowries than the art of war. The prisoners this war were few. If men run like goats, and are not followed, is it likely they will halt to be caught?"

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh.—"I cautioned them to be wary."

Another Amazon. — "If the king eats out of a plate, must it not be washed before used again? My musket after use requires oiling." *

An Amazon. — "Oh, king! give us Bah to conquer."

Another.—"Let Ahjah be the seat of war. Oh, mayo! lay this request before the king, that he cause you to send messengers to Ahjah to call upon the Attahpahms to collect and fight again, on pain of being at-

the truth of the history of the wars. Each day he has been reported ill, as also the mayo; but on distribution days cowries have been sent to the mayo, but not to the agaou, besides which the natives themselves prevaricated when closely questioned.

* Recommending punishment on the accused, or cleansing him of his sins.

tacked in Ahjah. They invited Gezo to war, and ran away."

Mayo. — "I have already sent messengers telling their chief, that, if the Ahjahs or others offer protection to the Attahpahms, the king will send an army to destroy them."

An Amazon (addressing the king). — "For my part I am in debt for my provisions for last war, I must go again to get money, whether you decide on Bah or Ahjah. My proverb is, 'Give a dog a bone and he will break and eat', so will we the town of our enemy."

A procession of fourteen chiefs of *demoiselles du pavé* now passed before the king, and prostrated themselves and kissed the dust.

Mayo (to the amazons). — "Explain at once your wishes, that the king may know them. If this is to be a war palaver, should not the agaou be present?"

A stormy debate ensued, in which the amazons persisted in charging a portion of the male army with cowardice; asserting that the weight of the action thus devolved

upon them: they were overloaded, and to be overloaded was to be made a laughing-stock of. The men tried to cry them down by shouting and hooting; when the amazons resorted to singing —

> "If soldiers go to war,
> They should conquer or die."

Ah-loh-loh-poh-loh-gan. — "The amazons are sweet-mouthed in their speeches. Let the king command, and the agaou will reduce the enemy."

Possoo. — "Let the king send me: I will do my best. There has been too much palaver about nothing."

A Soldier.—"The king has already made sacrifices to the river Mono. We are ready to exterminate the Attahpahms or die."

The river Mono lies on the road to Attahpahm, and as each forest, river, sea, &c., is supposed to be under the direction of a spirit, it is usual to sacrifice to them before crossing.

Ek-boh-sah (a military officer.) — "If we are not able to conquer Bah, we had

better acknowledge it, and leave it to some other nation." (It is the third year Abeah-keutah and Bah have been asked for.)

Toh-kol-moo-veh-seh (military chief) exclaims,—"Goat's blood is goat's blood." *

Ek-boh-sah.—"To interfere in a palaver is not right."

A general hubbub ensues, in which Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh tells Toh-kol-noo-veh-seh he might better have said nothing, and listened.

Ek-boh-sah continues.—"It is the king who makes war, not I. The king knows why we made so few prisoners in Attahpahm, and who are in fault. If the king becomes aware that any nations are favouring the Attahpahms he will at once destroy them. I did not come here to quarrel. Where the king sends me I will fight to my utmost. Is this a day on which to find fault? If I am not fit for my position drive me out. If my actions are not right, let my accusers look me in the face and make their

* Anglicè, in vulgar parlance, "trumps," meaning we all knew that before.

charges. I will not allow my name to be bandied because a portion of an army neglected their duty. Let my 'mother' * say what she thinks of this palaver."

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh. — "I will explain myself and my reasons for wishing the king to make war on Bah."

At this she was interrupted by

Boh-noh-mar-seh (a military officer.) — "Where the 'king's sons' are (the male army), there the fighting will be. (Meaning that the amazons were only secondary.) What I speak in the debate I will enact in the field. There is a fish in the river called 'pah-tah-seh-heh.'" (This fish has a natural protection, and is able to defend itself.)

Loud cries of "You talk nonsense, you talk too much."

An Amazon questions his right to interrupt her general, and asks: "Does one do wrong who, in seeking a livelihood, gives a portion to the king?"

* By "mother," understand coadjutor in the harem; by "daughter," amazon; "father," the address to the king, or a slave to his master; "son," soldier, slave.

Mayo (talking at Boh-noh-mar-seh).—"The king has said, let a man stuff himself at night, and he is heavy in the morning, that man's a fool."

King.—"If a man be too lazy to labour for himself, he is of no use to his king. If one partly destroys a country, he is not likely to return in open day, but will take advantage of the darkness of night." *

'Hoo-mah-ee (king's drum-maker).—"If the amazons go to Abeahkeutah, the males must go also. Let the king decide, and my 'mother' and I will march together. Where war is, there the drum will be. The army was six days in Attahpahm without meeting any enemy; yet there is one that calls himself king of that country." (Sings, and all join chorus)—

* The literal meaning of this is, that Attahpahm is partly destroyed, or that the Dahomans—neither conquerors nor conquered—destroyed the city, but not the nation; that the king is not likely to let them know when he will make another attack on so formidable a nation, although he has not finished with them.

" So wae re jar
Jor gee
Ah jor gee sar."

The readiest means a sale to meet,
Is to cry your goods throughout the street.

(In allusion to the Attahpahms having invited the Dahomans to the war.)

Boh-koh-sah (one of the singers).—"When the king talks of Abeahkeutah, then I will speak. What serves all this dispute? We can go to war with our clothes on (without loss of time)." Amid loud cries and interruptions, he added: "Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh, the chief of the amazons, has raised this palaver."

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh.—"Let Boh-koh-sah say I am the cause of this palaver. I will speak my mind. Let the king decide for Attahpahm; we are strong enough for Abeahkeutah also." (Meaning, the males will take one, the amazons the other.)

Hoo-mah-ee.—"Where the amazons go, there the males must also go."

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh.—"Who are you to speak thus confidently? Are you the agaou?" (Much excitement.)

A Drummer says—"Forty drums make an army, one army would be sufficient. In times of peace, the warrior's eye is in all directions; in war, concentrated on one focus (force should be concentrated). I wish to speak to the miegan and agaou. Both are absent. Why are they not here? It was not yesterday we returned from Attahpahm. Why bring that palaver in question now?"

An Amazon.—"If men give cause, do you think women can refrain from observing their faults, and commenting on them?"

Hoo-mah-ee.—"The Attahpahms must be destroyed; if they sent to treat, their feet would blister by the way. Let the king follow and exterminate them."

Another Drummer.—"The reason we ask for Abeahkeutah is, that the Abeahkeutans have insulted the king and killed Dahomans." (A general murmur.)

Too-noo-noo (the head eunuch.)—"Why is this man not heard?"

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh, after a flattering

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speech of some length to the king, adds—"We are the king's sandals."

The king made a speech in return, which was inaudible. All acknowledged it by holding aloft their muskets, and shouting. The subject was then changed by Ah-hoh-peh and Leh-peh-hoong, the king's eldest brothers, holding a spirited conversation on the agricultural condition of the kingdom. They agreed that the corn grounds were insufficient in extent to meet the demands, and remarked that the country which formerly supplied this necessary article of food was Ah-jar, and that now war was about to preclude the practicability of depending on that market. Their debate was joined in by Hung-bah-gee, a military chief, who added, that where goats were formerly plentiful in the market, they were now scarce, and that fowls and poultry were dear. They finished by agreeing that the roads were not kept in the order they might be.

In these public and open speeches alone is the king made aware of the state of the

interior; and according to their tenor and requisition he acts. Any one founding a complaint may do it, but he must be careful to prove it, or woe betide him.

The annual clothing to the soldiers under accusation was now brought in and placed before them, when an argument followed as to whether they were deserving of it or not. Their coadjutors in the amazon army said they deserved it, as their band, in a former war, killed the king of Lef-flee-foo.

Hung-bah-gee and Too-koo-noo-veh-seh (two chiefs) considered the goods forfeited, and each put in a claim of superior service.

An amazon officer questioned Hung-bah-gee's right, but conceded to Toh-koo-noo-veh-seh having a claim.

After much discussion, the king, in a speech too low to be heard, decided that Teh-peh-sah and his party (the accused) were to take their cloth; and thus ended the day's debate or wrangle. The band of singers were paid seven heads of cowries and a bottle of rum; and were followed by more bands, which each sang praises, received

a present, and retired. About forty of the blood royal assembled on the neutral ground (among them "Bah-dah-hoong," the king's eldest son and heir apparent) prostrated and kissed the dust, followed by the ministers and cabooceers. At three we left, as four more unhappy wretches were to be added to the thousands already murdered, to the memory of these benighted kings. God grant the nation a speedy deliverance from such barbarous pursuits! On this day his Majesty gave away about fifty heads of cowries.

PART VI.

THE AMAZON'S OATH OF FIDELITY.

June 12*th.*—THIS morning it appeared the debate of yesterday had not been without good results; the roads were in process of cleaning; each house has its portion, and all the lots were marked ready, so that there was no mistake.

The M'Carthys.

A liberated African woman (carrying a child on her back) came to our quarters this morning to beg our intercession on behalf of her husband, a liberated African from Sierra Leone, named Tom M'Carthy, who was a prisoner in the camboodee's house. A year since, having the hooping-cough, he had been directed to go into Attahpahm (from Whydah) to visit a famous native doctor who resided there; war had been made in the mean time, and he was now a prisoner. Desiring her not to men-

tion her case to any one, we promised our intercession, and sent her away.

The parade.

. . *July 13th.* — In our morning walk we were caught in a tornado, which, in a few moments, soaked us through. At noon we attended the parade of the amazon army — ostensibly the taking the oath of fidelity by these extraordinary troops, and a most novel and exciting scene it proved. Under a canopy of umbrellas on the south side of the Ah-jah-ee market-place, surrounded by ministers, cabooceers, dwarfs, hunchbacks, &c., all *en militaire*, on a skull-ornamented war-stool sat the king; in front sat the too-noo-noo, whilst on the right, under a similar canopy similarly attended, was a female court, in front of which was the mae-hae-pah.

In different parts of the field bivouacked the amazon regiments. As I arrived and took my seat on the king's right hand, one regiment was marching off, and a herald called —

"Ah Haussoo-lae-beh Haussoo!"
Oh king of kings!

A regiment of bushrangers now advanced. As a mark of distinction, each amazon had three stripes of whitewash round each leg. As soon as they arrived in front of the throne, they saluted the king, when one of the officers stepped forward and swore, in the name of the regiment, if they went to war, to conquer or die. "Have we not conquered," she exclaimed, "all the province of Mahee? So will we always conquer or die." Then a second officer stepped forward and said: "When the Attahpahms heard we were advancing, they ran away. If we go to war, and any return not conquerors, let them die. If I retreat, my life is at the king's mercy. Whatever the town to be attacked, we will conquer, or bury ourselves in its ruins." As soon as this officer had thus sworn, a third came from the ranks and said: "We are eighty, and of the right brigade, never yet known to turn our backs to the enemy. If any one can find fault with us, young or old, let us know it." A male officer standing near the king was about to address this

amazon, when he was told by a fetish man, "That woman is fetish, you are not; you must not interfere with her." All the amazons then joined in singing, —

"We march'd against Attahpahms as against men,
We came and found them women.
What we catch in the bush we never divide."

After they had again saluted the king, the regiment marched off.

Parts of two other regiments of bush-rangers then advanced; all regiments are named after their colonels, and these bore the appropriate titles of Ah-hoh-yoh, fire-horn, Ah-koong-ah-dah, turkey-buzzard.

Speeches of amazons.

After saluting the male and female courts, one of the amazons said: "I have no promises to make: as I have behaved and will behave, so I am ready to be judged: let my actions prove me!" Then another added: "By the king's offspring I swear never to retreat." Whilst a third continued: "War is our great friend; without it there is no cloth, no armlets; let us to war, and conquer or die." The

speaking was then taken up by a fourth, saying: "I am a wolf, the enemy of all I meet who are the king's enemies, and if I do not conquer, let me die." And a fifth, who added: "I am mother of Antonio (Da Souza); I long to kill an elephant for him to show my regard, but the Attah-pahms must be exterminated first. One of the male soldiers sent us Guinea pepper, to excite us to war: such is an insult." A sixth amazon having first recited the names of all the countries and towns conquered by the Dahomans to Ee-ah-wae (the English mother, an amazon general); the latter repeated them to two female heralds, who proclaimed them aloud. When this recitation was concluded the amazon said to the king: "If we go to war, we cannot come back empty-handed; if we fail to catch elephants, let us be content with flies: the king only knows where the war shall be."

The two colonels now came forward, and, by the king's desire, their bush-knives were handed for my inspection,—large unwieldy

country-made articles. Though far from deserving it, yet I said they were well adapted for the service. Being passed to Cocoa Sautee, the Ashantee ambassador, he (a thorough courtier) looked at them with admiration, felt their edges and their balance, and, turning towards the king, exclaimed, "If the princes of Africa wish to behold the wonders of the earth, let them attend the customs of Dahomey."

When the inspection of the knives had been concluded, Ah-koh-yoh (colonel of amazons) began her address: "Clothes," she said, "are made by fingers: we are the king's fingers!" Whilst Ah-koong-ah-dah (colonel of amazons) added: "Carriages cannot be drawn without wheels: we are the wheels!" And then both together cried: "We have destroyed Attah-pahm, let us go to Abeahkeutah, where we will conquer or die." A dance of the whole regiment followed, and then, crawling on their hands and knees, suddenly with a yell, they rose and retired at a rapid pace.

Another regiment followed about 300 strong. Fetish women in advance carried the fetish images, which were placed on the ground between the two courts. All, kneeling, raised their muskets and saluted, after which they were joined by about 200, in the dress of amazons, retainers of the late cha-cha raised in 1848, who introduced themselves as young soldiers, anxious to witness the glory of the king of kings.

The colonel then advanced and said: "The Attahpahms wanted courage to fight against Dahomey. Give us Abeahkeutah, and if we do not conquer our heads are at your disposal. If the Abeahkeutans run into the water, we will follow them; if into fire or up trees, we will follow also."

Another amazon added: "As sure as Abeahkeutah now stands, we will destroy it." Whilst a third took up the theme: —

"Attahpahm is destroyed! Give us Abeahkeutah? That is a strong place. Amou entered a room in which lay a corpse: he lifted the sheet, and was asked why? Because (he answered) I am anxious

to go where that man has gone.* Let us go there, or conquer Abeahkeutah."

A fourth amazon concluded the addresses thus: "Talk of Attahpahm! It is gone, not worth speaking of: Abeahkeutah is worthy of my consideration: if ordered there, we will bring back a good report. As grass is cut down to clear the road, so will we cut off the Abeahkeutans." †

The amazon standard-bearers next came forward and said: "These standards are in our charge: we swear to protect them or die."

The fourth regiment.

All then saluted and marched off at the double quick step. Another regiment of 160 advanced, and, sitting down, saluted: their fetish gear being placed in front.

* The Dahomans believe in the transmigration of souls, and that all people who die pass into a happier state,—in a land of spirits, returning to earth at times to watch over the remaining members of their family. Thus it is that the rich take their favourite wives and a few slaves with them, some being voluntary sacrifices, and with wives often suicides.

† This is a pure Dahoman proverb: as their grass is annually cut down, and on the roads quarterly.

Some women belonging to the Souza family in military costume joined them.

An amazon of this regiment then commenced the usual addresses thus: "The king is like a hen, spreading out her wings to protect her young from the rain. We are under the king's protection: if we do not fight, let us die." (The king having drank health with me, handed a tumbler of liqueur to the possoo.) After which, another of the amazons continued the speaking in these words: "Possoo, if you head us in war, may we die! Send us to Abeahkeutah, and we will destroy it or die."

One of the male courtiers here said: "If you do not, you will lose your name." On which the amazon replied: "We are newly born by the king: we have and will uphold him." And another added with emphasis: "Where the king sends us, thence comes a good report. I am the king's 'daughter,' under his protection: he gave me to the late Da Souza: death seized him: I now belong to Antonio: my name is Ah-

gae-see; and all I want is to go to war upon Abeahkeutah."

The colonels now advanced, and said: "These soldiers have done nothing yet; send us against the strongest: war cannot suffice us. Where the regiment is sent I will head them. Although a snake casts away beads *, and sheds its skin, it cannot change its colour, nor can I my word. We have sworn never to touch our fetish until we go to war. Attahpahm is no more. Let the war be on Abeahkeutah." The usual salute and quick march concluded the ceremony of this regiment.

The fifth regiment.

Another regiment advanced, attended by the cha-cha's wife, ornamented with about 100 ounces of pure gold. After they had all saluted the king with the usual ceremonies and prostrations, they pointed to their accoutrements and sang —

"Wherever we wear them in war,
There we will conquer or die."

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* The legend of the Popoe bead.

The old too-noo-noo, in imitation of European dress, had from his short trowsers run a piece of tape under his feet, by way of straps. One of the courtiers, while the king was joking with them, ventured a witticism on the eunuch minister, who, turning round sharply, said: "There is the king in this court: any thing pointed at me is personal to the master." The too-noo-noo and his straps.

One of the amazons of the last regiment now advanced and said: "The horse has broken his halter and is loose *; the robber knows he is loose; if Abeahkeutah be opened to us, we will conquer or die. Should one only return, let her die." After which all the amazon regiments assembled together, and, grouped in front, saluted first the king, and then the female court; whilst one of the officers advancing said: "Beans, though dried in burning fire, can, by introducing the finger, be taken out and eaten." A singing chorus, in which all

* The Abeahkeutans destroyed an amazon regiment in 1848.

joined, immediately followed, the words of which were —

"When we went to Attahpahm
We found nobody:
All ran away.
If they reach the water (sea),
They will be turned to salt.
Give us Abeahkeutah, and let the left brigade lead: *
We will conquer or die."

One of those passing storms under the name of tornadoes, common to all Africa, proved that an African tent was capable of withstanding the effect of the most searching rain imaginable. Drawing close to the royal seat, a mat was held over us, and a column of courtiers stood on each side, at once supporting the roof and forming walls to our hastily-constructed defence: at the same time a flannel robe and a huge grass hat were thrown over the king. As the swearing and declaiming of the amazon army would have been lost on the ears of

* The right brigade led last war, and ran.

majesty, they amused themselves the while in dancing and singing. As soon, however, as the rain had passed, the swearing recommenced with the following speech by an amazon officer :

"Rain has fallen and washed the spittle into the ground. Rain cannot enter the king's house : it is a strong house. But give us permission, and we will cause the rain to fall on the roofless houses of Abeahkeutah." On this another amazon cried aloud: "My mouth can speak of nought but war. Give us Abeahkeutah." Whilst all joined in chorus of—

"We are soldiers and ready to die."

Another amazon then stepped forward, and asked: "What came we here for? Not to show ourselves, but to ask the king for war. Give us Abeahkeutah, and we will destroy it or die." Followed by another, who said: "Fetish * men never initiate the poor. Give us Abeahkeutah: there is

* Alluding, doubtless, to the want of spoil from last war.

plenty. Attahpahm is destroyed and unworthy of our future care." At this part Souza's women advanced and sang:

> "The amazons are ready to die in war:
> Now is the time to send them."

All the female court then left their stools, and, heading the amazons, advanced and saluted the king, and then, retiring, resumed their positions; whilst, from the midst of the amazon army, a little girl of six years of age advanced, and said, "The king spoke thrice when he spoke of war: let the king speak once now: let it be on Abeahkeutah."*

Again all the amazons advanced, and, shouting, called on Da Souza to emulate his father. "As the porcupine shoots a quill a new one grows in its place, so let matters be in the port of Whydah: let one ship replace another." All again prostrated themselves and threw dirt on their heads:

* Alluding to the custom of asking three times; and meaning, "We have already asked three times, you have only now to answer in the affirmative."

while two amazon heralds recited the names of the king, and added one from the Attahpahm war, the "glah-glah" or "chimpanzee." *

Again all rise; whilst an amazon chief makes the following speech. "As the blacksmith takes an iron bar and by fire changes its fashion, so have we changed our nature. We are no longer women, we are men. By fire we will change Abeahkeutah. The king gives us cloth, but without thread it cannot be fashioned: we are the thread. If corn is put in the sun to dry and not looked after, will not the goats eat it. If Abeahkeutah be left too long, some other nation will spoil it. A cask of rum cannot roll itself. A table in a house becomes useful when anything is placed thereon. The Dahoman army without the amazons are as both, unassisted. Spitting

The speech of the amazon chief.

* Chimpanzees, in hordes, drive the labourers in the bush from their temporary farms: hence the name, as at Attahpahm all the prisoners were from the farms.

makes the belly more comfortable, and the outstretched hand will be the receiving one: so we ask you for war, that our bellies may have their desire and our hands be filled."

At the conclusion of this harangue the female court again rose, and, heading the amazons, saluted the king, when, pointing to the heavens, all sang in chorus—

"Soh*-jae-mee!"

May thunder and lightning kill us if we break our oaths!

The king now left the tent, amid cries of kok-pah-sah-kree (a peculiarly fierce eagle); whilst all fell prostrate. The king received a handsome ebony club, and danced with it. Then the amazons rose, and the king thus addressed them:—

The king's speech.

"The hunter buys a dog, and, having

* During the customs, a party carrying the fetish gear is headed by a man in a huge coat of dry grass, wearing a large bullock's head mask. As he passes all the boys follow, crying "Soh Soh." This is the representative of the god of thunder and lightning.

trained him, he takes him out a-hunting, without telling him the game he expects to meet. When in the bush he sees a beast, and, by his teaching, the dog pursues it. If the dog returns without the game, the huntsman, in his anger, kills him, and leaves his carcass a prey to the wolves and vultures. If I order you to clear the bush, and you do not do it, will I not punish you? If I tell my people to put their hands in the fire, they must do it. When you go to war, if you are taken prisoners, you will be sacrificed, and your bodies become food for wolves and vultures."

Having concluded his oration, the king again danced and drank; then handed round rum in a large pewter basin to the amazon officers. On his return to his tent, all the amazons, in number about 2400, marched off, and thus ended the parade.

PART VII.

THE SHAM FIGHT.

The scene of action.

June 14*th*.—At nine we arrived on the parade ground, the ah-jah-ee market; but, by the over zeal of the mayo's people that we should be in time, were far too early. Still we were so far fortunate that we had time to inspect the ground. On the south side a stockade of palm branches was built in imitation of a town, having three large enclosures within. These were now filling with slaves, marched under guards from the palaces. The cabooceers, followed by the ministers, each attended by his whole array of soldiers, bands, and insignia, marched on to the ground in lengthened procession from the west. At the same time the king, carried in a hammock in the centre of his male host, arrived from the palace of Dan-

ge-lah-cordeh on the east side; while the amazons, who alone were to take part in the sham fight, assembled under their different regimental colours on the north.

The commencement of the day.

As usual a canopy of umbrellas was spread for the court, and on the right (as yesterday) a similar one for the female court; while in the rear were bivouacked the whole male army. The business of the day commenced by the caboooceers and ministers prostrating and kissing the dust. Next Seh-peh-hoong, the king's brother, laid several government agricultural implements at the foot of the throne, and complained that the proper officers had not caused them to be repaired.

The march of the amazons.

Too-noo-noo now sought his coadjutor, the mae-hae-pah, who summoned the amazon army to approach. First came an advanced guard in single file, reconnoitring and placing sentinels along the road: then came the main army in two battalions. As each passed, the sentries were relieved and sent on with the report of advance. All carried their muskets over their shoulders,

with the muzzles in front. Next came the Fetish gear, the war-stools, and equipage of the monarch, guarded by a reserve, and in the rear the commissariat (all females). A second time they marched past, in the same order; this time giving a silent salute, *en passant*, by dropping on one knee; their muskets over the shoulder, but reversed. A third time they marched past, but now in close column, and with constant attention and arms shouldered. This, we were told, represents a night march.

During this scene the heralds were continually crying, "Oh, king of kings! war is coming, let all come to see it."

The commencement of the fight.

After the third round, the army collected in the centre of the parade ground. Pioneers then advanced, and, settling down in front of the tent (attended by the amazon chiefs), held a council of war. After which scouts were sent out, and soon returned with a spy covered from head to heel, with a country cloth. He was placed in the centre of the council, and an examination took place; whilst aid-de-camps were con-

stantly running between the council and the army. Again scouts were sent out, and this time returned with six prisoners, who were examined before the council, and marched into the rear. Then a body of officers advanced, to report the state of the country and position of the enemy to the king, who told them that, as this was a mere skirmish, the young troops were to take the lead.

The king now left his stool and inspected the stockade; while we took up positions on the right. There was a method of keeping time which I failed in understanding: it was measured by paces, the measurer having a thread, which, at a slow pace, he passed round two sticks, at a certain distance apart. After the manœuvre these threads were measured.

The attack on the stockade.

At noon a musket was fired, and a portion of the army attacked the stockade, made an entrée, and speedily reappeared, some with prisoners, some with tufts of grass to imitate heads.

Several regiments now advanced, and

again made an entrée. The slaves this time broke out of their enclosure, and a slave-hunt followed with much spirit, until all were caught.

All the army now assembled in front, except a reserve which guarded the prisoners, and at a signal advanced at double-quick time, and, by force of weight, threw down the stockade. The slaves from the third enclosure escaping, a similar hunt ensued as in the case of the previous stockade.

The regiments now divided, and, as we were informed, surrounded the country. All the slaves were again let loose (about 2000), and again hunted until all were recaptured, tied, and dragged before the royal canopy, whither the king and ourselves had returned.

As a slight divertissement, one of the courtiers descried a large cobra in the tree under which the canopy was spread, and, receiving permission, fired. The multitude shouted, and down fell a snake that had been killed for the occasion.

The king, on taking leave, made us a present of war-food,—hard round cakes made of palm oil, peppers, corn, salt, and beans, very nutritious, but difficult to masticate.

These reviews were very interesting, and I regret to say this was the last. We had nothing now to witness but the see-que-ah-hee. Some of the disputes in them will, however, better serve to illustrate the manners and customs of this extraordinary people, than any laboured description of their daily life and most singular national manners.

PART VIII.

THE SEE-QUE-AH-HEE, OR WATERING OF THE GRAVES OF THEIR ANCESTORS.

June 15*th.* — THE position need not be described: suffice it to say that the mausoleums of Agah-jah-dooso, in the palace of Agrim-gomeh, were, in the Dahoman idea, equally honoured, or in other language, there was a similar disgusting exposure of human bones and skulls.* Court fools exercised their wit, and excited the risible faculties by appearing in different masks.

A band of singers fronted the throne,

* The watering the graves is supposed to be offering sacrifices, human and others, on the tombs. We are only told of human sacrifices twice; making all the human beings offered during the custom in number thirty-two; but I much doubt if every day, inside or outside, one or more victims were not offered. The meat of bullocks, goats, fowls, &c., was strewed about the neutral ground, and water sprinkled.

and, as we entered, sung in praise of trade, at which the mayo, ee-a-voo-gan, and all the traders from Whydah, had to prostrate and kiss the dust.

Having made our bow, the theme changed into one of praise to the king, "who sacrificed liberally to the memory of his ancestors," and requested him to come forth and dance. They next called Apah-doo-noo-meh, the amazon chief, and sang at length in praise of the glory of their arms.

A marriage in Dahomey

The courtiers, sycophants, and fools were now offered an ample opportunity of exercising their disgusting eulogiums on the munificence of their master, as the mae-hae-pah, with cunning mystery, led two coy maidens, each the bearer of a glass of rum, to the centre of the neutral ground, and called Hae-che-lee and Ak-koo-too, two caboceers, to the presence. Advancing with simple looks they prostrated themselves, and each received and drank a glass of rum, and thus performed the only marriage ceremony known in Dahomey. In this way the monarch honours his favourite

officers with ladies of the royal household to wife.

An incident.

The band of singers were about to receive a present of cowries, when a divertissement took place, strongly pointing the direction even of the playful thoughts of the Dahomans. Among the cabooceers who received the cowries, and afterwards presented them with a speech on their master's liberality, was discovered one of the king's nephews. On the presumption that he was there with bad intention, he was instantly seized; and, with loud cries for mercy to the king, was slowly, and with much difficulty, removed across the court, where the king's brother, Ah-hoh-peh, told him he was to be beheaded.

Poh-veh-soo, the headsman, was exercising one of his offices as court fool in an opposite part of the court-yard, when the yells and cries of the victim (happy sounds to him) caught his ear. Divesting himself of his mask, with eyes dilated and sword in hand, he rushed to claim the prerogative of another of his offices. Arriving just as

the king had declared his willingness to try the culprit first, Ah-hoh-peh and Poh-veh-soo struggled hard for possession of the prisoner, and in this way approached the royal presence. One of the guards seized on Poh-veh-soo, and would have thrown him in the struggle, had it not been for the intervention of the late prisoner, who, to the amusement of the assemblage, took part with the headsman.

The remainder of the day was passed by bands of singers, alternately singing praises, either of the monarch, his ancestors, or his army. Taking leave, on arriving at our quarters we found a number of the "Spectator," landed by H. M. S. Lily, which brought back the memory to distant and happy England.

The second day and its debates.

June 16*th.* — Again the watering the graves of Agah-jah-dooso, in the same courtyard, and with the same positions as yesterday.

This day the singers confined themselves to an exposure of public nuisances, or stric-

tures on the conduct of the ministers and others. It would appear that, through some neglect, the tribute rum had been sent from Whydah (too evidently) under proof, from a strong admixture of salt-water. The mayo and ee-a-voo-gan were called upon to be more careful in future, and had to prostrate and kiss the dust.

Next the state of the palace walls was commented on. In these charges, Hung-bah-jee, a captain of the king's host, expressed himself as follows: "The miegan and the agaou are strangely absent from their customs: men say they are sick, yet why is not the state of their health daily reported at the palace-gate? If a house catches fire the inmates do not desert it, but rethatch it, lest the rain come and destroy the walls."

Too-noo-noo answered that "the king was aware of the state of the walls of his palace, and that the mayo had received directions concerning them."

Leh-peh-hoong.—"I have desired the saugan to give his help towards their repair.

At present his people are employed. When the work in hand is finished the walls will be repaired."

Ah-loh-loh-po-noh-gan. — "I can speak for the mayo, all of whose people are, at the king's command, ready to repair the walls."

At this point a squabble arose between the mayo and Hung-bah-gee, on the latter declaring he would repair them himself.

The singers however changed the subject of their lay, and sang of the Attahpahm war, and in praise of the amazon army, which was answered by one of its colonels. All the successful amazons in the late war then passed the throne; and one of their generals, assisted by two other officers, proclaimed the name of each amazon and of her prisoner. Four hundred and twenty-five are said to have brought prisoners, and thirty-two the heads of enemies. Several that had been wounded were introduced to us by name: the portrait of one, called Seh-dong-hong-beh (God speaks true), will be found in the former volume.

The singers again sang the praises and gains of war... The king came out and danced, then passed to our position, and drank with us, after which some heads of cowries were distributed to a number of bands of singers and musicians, each of which performed for a short time. One of the number, dressed in pure white, is called Hausoo Hwae (the royal bird).

As it was getting late, and the time approaching for the sacrifice of four unhappy prisoners of war, we took leave.

On this day two of the ministers, the mayo and the ee-a-voo-gan, have each to decapitate a victim with a short crooked sword. As a fee of office, each receives for performing the bloody deed one head of cowries, and a bottle of rum. The mayo, an old man of seventy-five years of age, performed his portion: not so the ee-a-voo-gan, a stout good-natured-looking black, to whom his task seemed repugnant, perhaps from association with Europeans as viceroy of Whydah, although I cannot think the morality of a Dahoman even

could be benefited by such an intercourse. Be it as it may, whether from innate humanity, or from some less worthy motive, the burly minister showed disgust at the office, and paid "the public executioner, whose heart the accustomed sight of death makes hard," one shilling, or 500 cowries, to do the deed. As a proof that my strictures above are not sufficiently strong for some of the foreign society of Whydah, two of them, slave-merchants, remained to gloat on these infamous barbarous murders, rendered legal in the minds of barbarians by the countenance of the whites. Who in this case are the murderers?

The third day. Watering the grave of the mother of Agah-jah-dooso.

June 17*th.*—To water the graves of Ah-doh-noh, the mother of Agah-jah-dooso, and her relations. Ah-doh-noh is one of the titles of royalty held by the amazons. The positions were the same as before, except that the king sat on a chair of state, and was guarded by a regular guard of amazons under arms in the rear of the royal seat. On the neutral ground were

piled 400 heads of cowries, besides several other smaller piles, and much rum.

Soon after our arrival, the business of the day opened with a distribution of cowries to all the ministers, head officers, and traders, in presents varying from ten heads to a head of cowries. The plan of distribution was different from that pursued on the previous days; the miegan being sick, the mayo, on being called, danced before the king to the notes of a discordant band; then knelt, and received ten heads of cowries in a basket on his head. Passing that to a servant, he received a three-gallon pottle of rum, which he carried away on his head. Each recipient had to imitate the mayo. The reader may remember, that when the chief of the amazons accused the males with running away in the Attah-pahm war, the king exclaimed that their chief knew more of counting cowries than the art of war.

The 400 heads before mentioned are presents to people not attending the customs; and their distribution is a hereditary

right belonging to Ah-loh-peh*, the captain of the band that gave way and caused the confusion of the male army. The singers now alluded to the charge, and the general opinion of the males was, that Ah-loh-peh, for his cowardice, had forfeited his ancestral right. While the dispute was yet a mere bantering of words, silence was proclaimed, and two bushmen, advancing to the centre of the neutral ground, knelt, and having each produced from a bag a recently boiled black human head, thus addressed the king:—

The speeches of the bushmen.

"The skulls were those of two Abeah-keutan soldiers, who were of a party that had attacked and taken a town in Anagoo (tributary to Dahomey): they then retired to a country called Tossoo, to forage, being horsemen. These two stragglers were shot."

After receiving a present in value about eight dollars, the mayo directed them to go to his house and receive some powder, then hasten and tell their chief, that, inasmuch

* It may be necessary to caution the reader that Ah-hoh-peh is the king's brother, and Ah-loh-peh the officer charged.

as he had killed those two men, Gezo would exterminate the Abeahkeutans.

I am strongly of opinion that this was mere acting, to impress us that the Dahomans were not the aggressors.

The trial of Ah-loh-peh.

After a procession of some public women, a form of trial ensued, if it deserve the name, of Ah-loh-peh, and five others, which lasted two days, and the particulars of which, as they are of a novel form of judge and jury, may be interesting. All addresses must be supposed to be made direct to the king as judge.

Ah-koo-too (a military chief).—"Inasmuch as Ah-loh-peh has proved himself a coward, he has forfeited his right to the distribution of this money: it must go to some one else."

Mayo.—"As head of the left, to which side Ah-loh-peh belongs, I claim the distribution."

A military Chief.—"If Ah-loh-peh has forfeited his hereditary right, it descends to Tingalee, who is a fit soldier."

Too-noo-noo.—"Tingalee has no claim:

the mayo, as head of all the 'left' army, to which Ah-loh-peh and Tingalee belong, alone has the right."

Boh-koh-mae-oo-noo (military chief). — "Tingalee is an officer to the mayo; is it right that the servant or the master should have this privilege?"

Hwae-mah-zae (amazon chief). — "By ancient custom the right is Ah-loh-peh's. Why change that custom now?"

Ah-loh-peh. — "Having listened to the argument, I cannot give up my birthright. If I was guilty of cowardice last war, why was I not accused at the time; I and all my people? It was not yesterday we returned from war; nor is this the time (to serve other purposes) to charge me with actions in times gone by. I will not quietly yield up my prerogative to the mayo."

The mayo, whom I have before described as a little man, rushed at Ah-loh-peh, a large powerful well-built black, who was addressing the king on his knees, and dealt him several blows; then, turning to his retainers, he caused him to be arrested and

forcibly removed. In a moment the whole yard was in uproar; and the neutral ground filled with amazons, shouting at the top of their voices. All clamoured, yelled, and shouted. When, with much difficulty, silence was proclaimed, the king, without altering his tone or position, and yet with some sternness, ordered Ah-loh-peh to be brought back.

Mayo (on the return of Ah-loh-peh).—"I impeach Ah-loh-peh as a coward; through his want of courage the Attah-pahm's nearly conquered; his head, by all our laws, is forfeited."

King.—"That does not excuse your assault."

Mayo.—"The man's presumption and impudence irritated me."

King.—"If you had reason to find fault with him for cowardice in the late war, you should have done so before, not now."

Ah-loh-peh.—"In what the mayo terms presumption and impudence, I am only protecting my hereditary rights; and, if not mine, let it not be the mayo's."

The mayo here replied in a passionate speech, rendered utterly inaudible through the shouting and hooting of the multitude.

Ah-loh-peh.—"As I behaved in the war, so did my people; when I go to war, I do not go alone."

King (addressing the whole).—"You must come to some definite agreement, and be less personal."

Several amazons then declared that Ah-loh-peh should retain his right.

King (to Ah-loh-peh).—"Settle how it shall be."

Ah-loh-peh.—"The people call me coward, and hinder me fair speech; if I am unworthy of the charge, let it be taken to Boh-gah-sah's."

Boh-koh-mae-oo-noo.—"Boh-gah-sah is as much to blame as Ah-loh-peh. That cannot be: Tingalee is the fit person."

After much more discussion, the king said that, as they could not agree unanimously, he would decide.

King.—"Let them be taken to Kar-mah-

dig-bee's house, and there be distributed. The mayo committed himself when he struck Ah-loh-peh. Let any one interfere now, and I know how to punish him."

Ah-loh-loh-poh-no-gan (to the king).—"May the mayo speak?"

King (answering in the negative) adds:—"If any act cowardly in war, let the report be made at the time, and not be brought afterwards to serve other purposes."

Leh-peh-hoong (king's brother) then addressed the king, and begged to be allowed to intercede for Ah-loh-peh.

King.—"Intercession is of no use now, Ah-loh-peh must reflect on his past conduct, and endeavour to do better in future."

The mayo, addressing Ah-loh-peh, then bade him beware for the future. But the king interrupted him, and added: "Enough has been said of the Attahpahm war; that is finished, the country destroyed, and the king killed."

During the debate, the name of a chief called Ah-ee-oh-soo-ee had been coupled

with Ah-loh-peh's; the king now declared the charge false, and described the state of the case.

King. — "Ah-loh-peh is a captain of eighty muskets: Ah-ee-oh-soo-ee also of eighty. In the Attahpahm war these bands were associated. Ah-loh-peh's band did not take part in the action; thus, unassisted, Ah-ee-oh-soo-ee could not act so well. Ah-loh-peh declares his men went foraging, and he could not collect them together again; that is the charge to be investigated."

Ah-pah-doo-noo-meh, chief of the left amazon army, then charged the amazon miegan with cowardice. "She and her party ran," said the chief, and did not halt until they gained the king's position, a day's march from the war, and were immediately sent back with threats: in the meantime the amazon mayo was killed."

"Well I know it," rejoined the king; and then called up three amazons. "These," he added, "merely as carriers, without arms, took prisoners; and thus I will reward

them. He then gave them ten heads of cowries.

The munificence of the king was dilated on at great length, and appeared to have created general good-humour, when Koh-koh-ah-gee, a military captain, blowing his own trumpet, made a speech, in which he placed his father's son as the bravest of the Dahoman army. Hung-bah-gee, one of the captains of the king's troops, challenged him to single combat on the spot.

Koh-koh-ah-gee.—"No, I will take my musket to Abeahkeutah, and take more slaves than you, and so decide which is the greatest warrior."

King.—"Koh-koh-ah-gee's is the right way to decide a personal quarrel between two officers: Hung-bah-gee was presumptuous."

Several amazons asked Hung-bah-gee, if he had any fault to find with Koh-koh-ah-gee.

Ah-hoh-peh (king's brother).—"This is an old jar: they hate each other."

An old Anagoo. — "I recommend the council not to quarrel among themselves; as, if they go to war against Abeahkeutah, they go against a strong people."

This very sensible speech, being distasteful, was of course cried down with much noise, during which all joined in singing,

> "When the wolf goes abroad
> The sheep must fly."

Koh-koh-ah-gee. — "We are the king's slaves, but he cannot sell us; should I be at Agrimch and there do wrong, the king can send the knife (executioner) to decapitate me. Where we are sent we must conquer or die."

A general exchange of compliments and praises was, after much length, interrupted thus by the king: —

King. — "Reserve your strength for action: do not exhaust it in palaver and quarrel. (To the amazons): Keep your secrets of one another, and in war let each emulate the other: if Koh-koh-ah-gee or

any other distinguish himself, shall not I hear of it; and who knows better how to reward? But if, on the contrary any one behaves ill, think not that I will not punish."

Amidst general compliments, and a distribution of food and rum, we took leave.

The fourth day of the See-que-ah-hee.

June 18*th.*—Again the See-que-ah-hee, in the palace of Dahomey, to the memory of Ah-loh-wah-gae-lee, a hereditary title in the harem. Positions were the same as on the three former days. The trial of Ah-loh-peh and five other military officers, for cowardice in the late war, was still in progress; and the mayo had probably had a lesson from the king, for he hung his head dejectedly during the whole day.

Too-koo-noo-veh-seh opened the proceedings by kneeling on the neutral ground at our entrance, and saying: "The agaou is sick, but I will explain to him all that takes place."

Toh-poh-vee.—"I am also to report proceedings to the agaou, and to state that last war the troops were badly generaled:

they must be better led in the next campaign."

Ah-hoh-peh (king's brother).—"Ah-ee-oh-soo-hee was not to blame: therefore there is no need to try him."

Hae-tung (the amazon agaou).—"What the king said yesterday about our retreat was true; but we were overloaded: we had more than our share of the war."

Ah-ee-sah-tung (military chief).—"If a division of an army do not do their utmost, the whole blame cannot come on one, the agaou."

Sau-gan-sah (military chief).—"If I behaved like a coward, I must die: I could not ask for mercy. Ah-loh-peh would have been beheaded, had not the king interceded and saved him. Although Ah-loh-peh was not arrested yesterday, the affair is not settled: it is our duty to find out if he is in the right or wrong. I call upon Ah-loh-peh and the others to appear and answer for their conduct."

At the close of this speech all came for-

ward, prostrated and kissed the dust; whilst a stormy discussion ensued, far too quickly spoken to be understood by me, much less translated. After the discussion had lulled,

Sau-gan-sah said: — "They are guilty, and deserve to be disgraced. Let the king condemn them to be headsmen, and, reserving two for himself, give two to each, the miegan and the mayo."

Another soldier was now brought forward, and stripped of his accoutrements, whilst his arms were tied; and then again arose a stormy discussion, in which Saugan-sah told the king that if he bought slaves and made soldiers of them, he must expect bad as well as good.

The sentence on Ah-loh-peh and his fellows.

King. — "Ah-loh-peh, although guilty, was not so much responsible as represented." After a eulogium of the gallantry of Ah-pah-doo-noo-mee and her amazon regiment, he added: "Let Ah-loh-peh and the others be disgraced to headsmen forthwith." Then, turning to the last prisoner, he addressed his accusers

thus: "This man was second of eighty, the first was killed, and this man was separated from his party: when the party fell back, this man was fighting on the field. I have already given judgment in this case on the field, and I cannot alter it now. Let his arms be returned, and his liberty restored."

Ah-loh-peh and the five accused with him now returned with their heads shaved, each carrying a club, and all prostrated themselves and kissed the dust. Then Ah-loh-peh received the name of Gar-jah-doh, or fallen house.

Ah-hoh-peh (king's brother). — "No sooner is one fallen than another takes his place."

Ah-loh-loh-poh-noh-gan, the chief captain of the mayo's levies, then came forward, bowed, and kissed the dust.

King (after a lengthened speech, hardly audible). — "Should twenty fall in your ranks, let twenty take their place; should 100 fall, another 100 must be ready to replace them. Many were lost in the late

war; for the future matters must be better managed, or punishment must follow."

This speech opened a direct path to chanting their own praises, in which they far exceed the Briton's belief that he is equal to two Frenchmen, or an indefinite number of Portuguese. So happy were they after their bragging speeches, that they shook hands with each other, and, becoming much excited, compared forty of the Dahomans as equal to any thousand Africans. Then they joined in singing,

"We'll rush on war and die.
Rather than return vanquished."

King.—"When you go to war, don't fire at a rustling of leaves. Observe your man well; assist one another, lest perchance the enemy be strongest, and so turn the tables."

One of the soldiers, holding up a small club, exclaimed. "With this, at Attah-pahm, I killed two of the enemy."

"Show it, that all may see it," rejoined the king; and then once more they shouted in full chorus,

"Let us rush on war, and die sooner than return vanquished.
War is the pastime of the Dahoman;
If we don't conquer, let us die!"

The day's fête was then concluded by a quantity of food and rum being passed round to all.

PART IX.

WATERING THE GRAVES OF THE KING'S GREAT-GRAND-MOTHER, GRAND-MOTHER, AND MOTHER.

The fifth day. The grave of the king's great grand-mother.

June 19*th*.—To-day the grave of Iah-ee, the king's great-grandmother, was watered. The scene was a yard in the palace of Dange-lah-cordeh, and the positions much the same as on the former days. The Iah-ee (which is a royal title) was dressed out in silks and satins, and occupied a high seat. The ground, as usual, was strewn with cooked meat; and I much fear that sacrifices of female prisoners took place in the evenings, although our interpreter assured us that the present monarch had discontinued them. Immediately facing the entrance gate, which was ornamented with fourteen skulls, was an oven of clay, in which was a live duck and two boiled (human) heads, covered with palm oil.

A message was sent from the agaou, stating that he fully approved of the disgracing of Ah-loh-peh and his confederates, and that, as soon as he was well, he would attend the customs. Next followed a great deal of bragging and self-praise, succeeded by the general chorus: —

"Let the king grant war speedily!
Do not let our energies be damped.
Fire cannot pass through water.
The king feeds us
When we go to war.
Remember this!"

A military officer then sang at great length, the burthen of his song being, that, at whatever distance, if any king speaks lightly of Dahomey or the Dahomans, the agaou will head the army and revenge such an insult speedily.

King. — "All witnessed the judgment yesterday; take warning by the fate of those; if I give you a country to destroy, and you do not destroy it, you know what

you deserve." Then he explained to them that every inducement was given them to do their duty, and pointed out that cunning and stratagem should also be added to their bravery. This was acknowledged by all, as they sang,—

> "We are clothed and fed by Gezo;
> In consequence, our hearts are glad."

A Soldier. — "Abeahkeutah is mere child's play to destroy; I will command the army there. The agaou and passoo will not be required."

A soldier questioned the actions of those who were made officers; when the king told him he could promote whom he pleased.

An Amazon.—"This knife (holding one up) was given me by the king, it has not been used: let us go to war. Originally the amazons were not relied upon: now they are the most useful of troops."

Another (holding up a piece of paper).—"This book was given me by Bah-dah-hoong (the heir apparent) to give to my 'Father'

(the king), to keep the records of the country on."*

King.—"Can Bah-dah-hoong write, that he keeps a book?"

Much more flattery and mutual praise continued till about 3 P. M., when food was distributed, and a number of goats and fowls presented by the chiefs to the king. His majesty then presented eight boys to the Iah-ee to keep her house clean, and thus ended the proceedings.

June 20th.—Mr. Hutton's black servant had an interview with the king on matters of Brihiny: rather contrary to regulations when her Majesty's consul was present.

The cha-cha received his present or pass: after which a visitor is at liberty to withdraw. The captain of his band is from Jena, a countryman of one of our interpreters. He called to-day, and, in conversa-

* I cannot help thinking that this must have been a hit at our mission, as the Dahomans use the word "Book" for paper of any kind written on. "Saree," book, means, in the idiom or Lingua Franca of the traders, a great rascal.

tion, told him to explain to us that we had better warn the missionaries in Abeahkeutah to withdraw, as the king of Dahomey was going to make war there. I asked him if he felt confident of conquest. To which he answered: "The king will make a fetish *,

* In reference to this fetish or Brihiny, and probable division of the chiefs of Abeahkeutah, I quote extracts from the Rev. Henry Townsend's (of the Church Mission Society) evidence before Mr. Hutt's committee.

7719. I first went to Abeahkeutah in the latter part of 1842. . . I was there sent on a mission to inquire into the state of the country, to see if there was any possibility of our forming an establishment there.

7720. I left Abeahkeutah in March of the present year, and I arrived in England, June 26. 1848.

7721. . . . . The Church Missionary Society subsequently sent myself, the Rev. Mr. Crowther, and Mr. Gollmar to occupy the station at Abeahkeutah.

7723. It is about sixty miles from the coast.

7700. I estimate the population of Abeahkeutah at 50,000.

7732. The government itself is rather difficult to define (inasmuch as the people are not now under a settled government). Formerly it was a monarchical government: now, in consequence of the slave trade, the people who formerly lived in large towns,

to divide the Abeahkeutans, and then they cannot stand against his army. Remember

covering a large extent of country, are concentrated in one town.

7734. (Thus they became concentrated in the towns.) A quarrel arose among the people, and some fighting took place: ultimately one of the towns was destroyed, and the people sold into slavery. Those that escaped joined those that besieged, and made an attack upon others . . . until the whole country was in a state of disorder. Some of the people finding this spot (Abeahkeutah) likely to prove a safe place, resorted to it; and then the people scattered abroad in the country took refuge in it, until now the town has become extremely large.

7734. (Thus the natives state the cause of the war.) The people of two or three different towns assembled together at one town to trade, . . . and some quarrel took place for the sake of one cowrie's-worth of pepper (30th part of a penny). . . . (Truly African.)

7739. (This part is extremely corroborative.) At the present time the country is very much disorganised. The most sensible among the chiefs are desirous of peace; but they cannot always command the people. And there are a number of people in Abeahkeutah thirsting for war, on account of the slave rade. . . . (Here is the fetish to be stirred up.)

Okeadon. I was there, and not a man was killed."

How a Brazilian (for such the cha-cha calls himself) can justify his lending 140 men to the king, to assist him in his murderous slave hunts, I cannot understand. A little of Gallinas discipline would soon bring these devastating merchants to their senses; and God grant they may soon be taught the errors of their ways!" And now, that Quittah belongs to the British government, nothing can be easier than to land a force there, and, descending by canoes, destroy all the haunts in the bight. What are the ob-

7744. The name of the province is Egba; the name of the kingdom Youribah. The Egba country used to have a king, who was tributary to the Youribah kingdom. Abeahkeutah is the capital of Egbah (*Mahee Anagoo*). Almost all large African states are formed of several provinces.

7746. Abeahkeutah means "under the stone": a large natural cave, in which the market is held, and might form a retreat for the besieged. Besides this protection, it is situated on the banks of a river, and a likely place for trade. Thirty years ago there was not an inhabitant.

stacles? One French house at Whydah, and, if report speaks true, very little less a slave house than Da Souza's. In such a question I count the British as nought. Mark the saving of expense. I lay the raising of forts at 20,000*l.* (double the sum given for the Danish forts); and, putting the other expenses (in landing and various operations, prize money, &c.) at 30,000*l.*, 50,000*l.* would perfectly stop in three months what is an impossibility in the present state of operations. Land a force of black troops at Quittah, let them march to Badagry, whilst small steamers ascending the Benin can pass into Lagos, and the whole expedition might commemorate the annihilation of the slave trade in the bights in one year after its commencement. In the north slavery is stopped; stop it in the bights, and two thirds of this vast continent no longer require to be blockaded. Money expended simply on marine coercion acts merely in preventing increase, as I defy any one to say that decrease is consequent. Three cotemporaneous courses are requisite

to destroy the slave trade. These are:— stringent treaties of amity with European and Christian powers;— stringent treaties, *nolens volens*, with the monsters who, for the sake of paltry gain, which they make an evil use of, sell their countrymen to enrich the stranger land;—and the destruction of slaving for ever, by erecting British forts on the commanding positions. When such operations are in force, there will be some reason to suppose the slave trade to be tottering. The present unassisted operations of the squadron keep up necessarily the numbers of slave vessels; while, wherever danger exists, or a denial is put to an article of commerce, it is hopeless to believe that all the exertions of force alone can prevent its introduction. Still these operations by land and sea will certainly render the traffic precarious, expensive to the trader, and I may say generally ruinous.

These are the principal to deal with. The cha-cha, for all I know, may be a brave man in the common acceptation of the term; but I question the bravery of a man

who sits down in luxury and lends hundreds to war (by surprise) on his neighbours, in order, only, that he may reap the benefit, knowing, as every one conversant with Dahoman affairs must, that for each slave two have been murdered,—one on the field, and one in the hall.

The watering the grave of Seh-noo-meh.

June 21*st.*—This morning the See-que-ah-hee was performed over the grave of the king's grandmother, Seh-noo-meh. The Seh-noo-meh was present in brilliant costume, attended by the lady holding the title of royal mother. The positions differed but little from those previously described.

On the neutral ground knelt all the amazon officers, and a band of music played, whilst they sang at great length in praise of the royal liberality, enumerating many such acts, and among them the gifts of eight boys to the "Iah-ee."

At the conclusion of the songs a dialogue immediately commenced, inciting the amazons to renew their songs.

Too-noo-noo.—"The songs you sing in his Majesty's praise are sweet to hear. Sing more."

Amazon Miegan.—"Sing again and lend all your powers to the song, for your lives are at the king's mercy."

Mayo.—"Oh sing again, with the same pathos!"

Too-noo-noo.—"Oh, how wise is the king! Hence the general diffusion of wisdom: all his people are wise."

Herald.—"The king is wise. Knowledge is generally diffused."

Leh-peh-hoong.—"Too-noo-noo spoke the truth when he said the king was wise: wisdom emanates from him, and spreadeth itself among the people."

Thus encouraged, the amazon officers then recommenced their songs, when a dispute arose about the incorrectness of the music. They sang a lengthened theme on the antiquity of the customs, and called on Seh-noo-meh to dance. With her train borne by a maiden, she came forth and danced, attended by four of the king's fetish

women. Then, addressing the king, she said: "If the king enters the house and does not speak, who can know he is there? To-morrow let him go to the house of her that gave him milk to nourish him."

Too-noo-noo.—"Any song in derision of the people beyond the Agonee river (Abeahkeutah) may be sung. To-morrow you will have to sing in praise, and of the memory, of her that gave birth to Gezo."

Food was now generally distributed, and numbers of the soldiers, in songs of self-praise, swore to conquer or to die. Then said the mayo: "Ponder your words over well before you give utterance: consider them ere you swear before the king."

King.—"Remember, after you have sworn, if you do wrong, when you are accused, I can tell you of your oaths."

Mayo.—"Go to war and act bravely, or return and be decapitated."

Thus encouraged and warned, the amazons renewed their song, uniting in singing—

"Gezo is king of kings!
While Gezo lives we have nothing to fear.
Under him we are lions, not men.
Power emanates from the king."

To this chorus succeeded a short dialogue of boasting and recrimination between two chiefs.

Koh-koh-ah-gee. — "My hands are well armed, they will fight well in war. What power I have is generously bestowed by Gezo."

Hung-bah-gee. — "You may, because of the number of your people: beware, lest some day you stumble."

Koh-koh-ah-gee. — "It is of little use to talk of taking a town, until the king has decided: wherever the war shall be, there will I lead my men."

Toh-koh-noo-veh-seh. — "In talking you are all brave: prove yourselves so in war."

The king here interfered with a speech entirely inaudible, but which seemed to give satisfaction, as Koh-koh-ah-gee concluded the discussion, by saying, "Now that you have taught us, we cannot err."

The saugan then performed the Dahoman marriage ceremony, receiving "a glass of rum" from his bride elect; while the mae-hae-pah bade him drain the glass with jealous zeal, nor give one drop to any cabooceer. Some fifty heads of cowries were then divided among the bands, and a present made to the Seh-noo-meh. The king drank a glass of spirits to the Seh-noo meh, with the usual accompaniment of guns, drums, and shouting, while a herald proclaimed, "Gezo, king of kings, that could take all other kings, and sell them for rum." After this "poetic" eulogium, the band of singers occupying the neutral ground called for Ah-loh-peh and the other chiefs who were disgraced at the previous feast. Dahoman marriage.

Prostrated on the ground, the chief was asked his new name by the band, who, receiving it as "Gar-jah-doh," or "fallen house," sang,—

"Oh, Fallen House!
That was once considered worthy of carrying arms;
Be thou now disgraced to bear a club."

With this curious ceremony the day's labours and amusements came to an end.

The watering the grave of the king's mother.

June 22nd.—The Ah-con-tih-meh, or lady holding the title of royal mother, presided at the watering the graves of Gezo's mother and her relations. The positions were the same as before. First, several female bands of music passed, and received each a present of cowries. Then the amazon officers lauded the king to the very skies, in verse, thus:—

"Let all eyes behold the king!
There are not two, but one—
One only, Gezo!
All nations have their customs,
But none so brilliant or enlightened
As of Dahomey.
People from far countries are here:
Behold! all nations, white and black,
Send their ambassadors."

Every body in the yard, except the whites, and those privileged as ee-a-boos (whites), then prostrated and kissed the dust, whilst the female officers sang—

"Yoribah lied
When Yoribah said she could conquer Dahomey:
When we meet we'll change their night into day

Let the rain fall:
The season past, the river dries.*
Yoribah and Dahomey!
Can two rams drink from one calabash?
The Yoribahs must have been drunk to say
Dahomey feared them:
They could conquer Dahomey.

An Amazon.—"In the days of our ancestors, the white trader brought good articles. A musket then lasted twenty years, now three."†

Too-noo-noo.—"Your songs are sweet to hear: sing more."

Amazon officers then sang—

"There's a difference between Gezo and a poor man,
There's a difference between Gezo and a rich man:
If a rich man owned all,
Gezo would still be king.

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* Between Abeahkeutah and Abomey is the river Agonee.

† I doubt much if this was not a double entendre, meaning that formerly a musket would be of little use in Dahomey, but now its use is universal. All these sayings, as will be seen, are in abstruse parables.

All guns are not alike;
Some are long, some short, some thick, some thin.
The Yoribahs must be a drunken nation,
And thus we will dance before them."

Of their dance they then gave a rehearsal, whilst the heralds recited the king's names, and added: "There is a leaf called 'ee-a-boo' (probably poison): let the king make a fetish with it, and Abeahkeutah must fall. Every thing Gezo does is well done. His power is supreme over the male and female of all kinds."

The amazon officers once more sang in chorus —

"With these guns in our hands
And powder in our cartouch-boxes,
What has the king to fear?
When we go to war, let the king dance,
While we bring him prisoners and heads."

An amazon here summoned the king's sons, who, advancing, kissed the dust and prostrated themselves before the throne. She then exhorted them to make a good fetish for their father, "that his days may

be long in the land." She added: "The king prays to the fetish for you. Let all the royal family pray to their ancestors for long life to Gezo. If the leopard kills her prey, does she not feed her young? If the deer brings forth young, does she not nibble grass for it?"

Bah-doo-hong (heir apparent). — "So long as I live, I shall call upon the fetish to cause my father's life to be happy and continued." (A general salute followed.)

Toh-dah-sah (a female cousin of the king) to the amazons. — "If you would procure the honey, you must do it carefully, or you will be stung."

The Ah-con-tih-meh and her attendants here commenced a dance before the king, each carrying a human skull, whilst the amazon officers continued chanting —

"The king's heart and hands are full."

The Seh-noo-meh then received a present, and, attended by her skull ornaments and followers, marched off. Food was now generally distributed, and rum and other liqueurs

handed round in cruet stands and other equally curious decanters.

Leh-peh-hoong received a small liqueur case full of bottles, filled (as the mae-hae-pah explained to him) with a sample of every liqueur his Majesty had drank during the customs.

A general assemblage now took place of all the bands of singers, musicians, and others, who had taken part in these customs; and the yard became crowded to excess. All received food and rum. The king presented cowries to the traders, ministers, cabooceers, and principal officers, and to the cha-cha's brothers. During the time that Ignatio and Antonio da Souza were receiving ten heads of cowries each, the singers chorused —

> "Oh! wonderful king, to receive
> These cowries from the white man
> And give them back again!"

One hundred and sixty heads of cowries were given to the ministers to make the fetish custom.

Much self-praise and laudation of his Majesty ensued. After the repast Koh-koh-ah-gee and Hung-bah-gee became so personal, in their boasting and recrimination, that the king cautioned each not to promise more than he could perform.

The amazons joined in the praises of those on whom royalty smiled, and attacked those who, on the contrary, fell under the royal (and consequently popular) displeasure in a despotic court. The day had all the features of the former, with one brightening lustre, "more valuable than the glitter of the diamond to the miner," it was the last of the "See-que-ah-hee." The "watering of the graves" was over; and may the Dahomans be confounded and put to shame, before another "Hwae-mae-noo" (occurrence of every year) disgraces the first year of the second half of the nineteenth century!

The decapitations of which we were aware amounted to thirty-two; but I have no doubt many more victims were sacrificed. I leave the reader to make his own com-

ment on what I have attempted to describe, asking him if it be not too true, that "truth is far more strange than fiction."

Before closing my account of the customs, I may add a few more facts. Every night heralds paraded the town, crying "Haussoo-lae-beh Haussoo!" (oh, king of kings! &c.), and enumerating the king's names and the names of his coïquests. Before going, I was under the supposition that the very streets would run with rum, and that there would be danger from the bewildered state of barbarous minds consequent on the vice of drunkenness. There was none, and rum, although served in large quantities, was so distributed, that no one had at a time more than a gill. There was a rule in the whole; and, while great liberality was apparent, a reference to the Appendix will show that after all it was display only, and that actually but little became the portion of each.

June 23rd. — Sunday and reflection! What a blessing that Sunday has always

been exempt from the barbarities of this most barbarous court!

As our object was to discover, as perfectly as possible, his Majesty's disbursements, and make a calculation of his probable wealth, we had to appear at the palace to count 924 heads of cowries, and to examine the contents of a puncheon of rum to be given to headsmen of towns and districts who had attended these customs. One more remark upon these presents.

I have said before that all people, high and low, are obliged to attend or send a present, each according to his wealth; and these presents (amounting from the slave-dealers to thousands of dollars, in our case to fifteen hundred dollars' worth) are passed in under cover to the palace: no one sees them, and each is afraid to tell his neighbour what he gives. On the other hand, when his Majesty makes a return (about a halfpenny in the pound), all the quality of Dahomey attend, and while heralds proclaim the gift, court-fools and sycophants

laud the giver. Ministers and others stagger under a load of cowries, before receiving which they have wallowed in the dust, and, when these added to their own stores, they are as the drop to the ocean.

PART X.

THE LAST INTERVIEW WITH THE KING, AND CLOSE OF THE MISSION.

June 24th. — It is necessary, before going any further, to introduce the reader to our interpreters, as they will now assume a prominent position. I shall give them the precedence of the Dahoman court, — "that of wealth."

Our interpreter Nar-whey.

First, then, Nar-whey, as rich a merchant as exists in Dahomey, and as great a slave-dealer. This man's father was a servant in the British fort at Whydah, and his son by birthright has his place. He speaks English, but Portuguese better; is "hand and foot" to the viceroy of Whydah, and spy to any that will pay him most. He has got an extensive domain at Whydah; secondly, a large farm at Torree; thirdly, Whybagon; fourthly, Ah-grimeh; fifthly, Troo-boo-doo;

sixthly, Carrnah; and, again, a domain at Abomey. He is the owner of upwards of 1000 slaves, and as deep a villain as ever breathed.

Custom (which rules everybody and every thing at the court of Dahomey) obliges every Englishman to be attended by this rascal. His house in Dahomey is the patrimonial residence; and he sacrificed a male and female slave at the tomb of his father, to be servant and hand-maid to him in the world of spirits.

Mark Lemon.

The second, Mark or Madi-ki Lemon, has been already partly described, a perfect Dahoman: too big a fool to be a rogue, but simple as the untaught child: simply useful, that, in interpreting with the other, if Narwhey gave a wrong version, the king would at once detect it.

John Richards.

The third, John Richards, a Jena man, formerly a slave on board a Brazilian trader to the coast, which vessel, being in a leaky state, put into Fernando Po, and liberated the slave crew. He was the most useful of our interpreters, though very sulky, and

requiring to be much humoured. Fortunately, he was an undisguised abhorrer of the slave trade, and hated the king of Dahomey, as the principal agent in the ruin of his country.

The fourth, Majelica, hardly deserves the name of interpreter. He was the fort interpreter; but, as few Englishmen had for the last half century visited it, he had become unaccustomed to his work, and, although a respectable man, was a bad interpreter. Majelica.

Such were the tools with which we had to attempt that which, if effected, would have given a world-wide fame to our visit.

June 25th. — The mayo visited us, and told us his Majesty would be engaged "making a fetish;" and that, consequently, we would have to stop at least ten days before we could enter upon the object of our mission. We concluded our day by visiting a large assemblage of fetish people, who were making "custom" in the Ah-jah-ee market. A guard of amazons was in the neighbourhood, and within a circle danced

about 100 women, all gaily dressed. Scattered about were the mangled remains of a sacrificed bullock, on which the turkey-buzzards were feeding, with dreadful appetite, in thousands. The men did not appear to take part in the dance; but we had no sooner appeared than Leh-peh-hoong, the king's eldest brother, sent to offer seats. Joining him, we found him superintending the fête, attended by several cabooceers, and were at once supplied with liqueurs of various kinds. The dancing continued with great spirit to the music of several discordant bands. We then visited the pottery (that is to say, we took a bird's-eye view of it from an eminence.) I have already explained why we could not go near to it. The clay is brought from the oozy ground of the valley in the north-west, and covered in small heaps until required.

June 26th.—Visited the palace of Ahgongroo (the father of Gezo), at a distance of three miles from Abomey by the south gate: a large enclosure, like all palaces in Dahomey, only inhabited by women. It is thus the king becomes so rich, holding the

numerous progeny of his ancestors as slaves, as well as those yearly gained by war.

Cabinet council.

The ee-a-voo-gan, cha-cha, and Ignatio Da Souza, were all this day closeted with the king, conversing, doubtlessly, on the advantages of the slave-trade. Antonio da Souza had, sans permission, absented himself. To-day he returned much dejected, and the cause was soon current. Advices from Brazil had told him of the near approach of a schooner fully equipped. He arrived in Whydah on the evening of the 22nd; and, on the 23d, saw H. M. steamer Gladiator pass with his schooner in tow.

June 27th.—The ee-a-voo-gan called in the morning, and the mayo in the evening; the latter, to disguise his having been closeted with the Brazilians all day, which, to his astonishment, we told him of. Had a bird's-eye view of the dye-house, which has been described as being sacred, as worked by the royal wives.

June 28th.—The mayo sent, to say he was very ill, and could not call. We therefore sent a message to him, to desire that he

would acquaint the king with our readiness to make an offer, and, if possible, to conclude a treaty.

June 29th.—The mayo called, and requested, in his Majesty's name, we would give him our account of the disbursements of the whole customs, which we explained to him, and also that we were anxious to come to a palaver, as we were losing much time, and it would more accord with the full dignity of the matter to pay immediate attention to it.

Sunday in Dahomey.

June 30th.—Sunday is a curious day to contemplate in a barbarous country. What a glorious gift to the labourer is the Sabbath! Yet strange, in three-fourths of the known globe its use is unpractised! In some parts of Africa, there is an intermission of labour.

I am fond of oysters. Do you know, reader, that these lagoons of Africa yield natives? One day being in my boat on the lagoon of Mayumba, a number of sables, of the weaker sex, were jabbering in high delight on the banks, and assembled in hundreds gathering oysters. The mafouka, or head of the customs or

chief trader, was with me, and explained that every fourth day was a holiday, not kept holy, but devoted to the will of the working classes; in short, a sort of remuneration to the slave for the three days labour.

Sunday in Abomey is not known: there is no cessation from a continuous term of pleasure (if the customs deserve the name), even in its African acceptation, except that human nature, being over-burdened, must need relaxation.

July 1st. — The mayo called, and explained that he was to meet his Majesty and appoint a day for our interview; asked if we had any proposition to make. We explained to him that he was already possessed with our anxiety for an interview, and that delay was irksome.

The Mahee oath of allegiance.

The Mahee provinces have been long overrun by Dahomey; yet there still remain parts unconquered. The king held out a promise of amnesty to these, on condition that their chiefs repaired to Abomey, and swore allegiance. This morning, as I re-

turned from my walk, a crowd was assembled in rear of a fine-looking black, who, followed by five attendants, entered at the Cannah gate, with a palm-branch round his neck, and passed towards the Dange-lah-cordeh palace.

After my bath, I followed in the same direction, and, entering the square of the Agrim-gomeh palace, found Leh-peh-hoong and the cabooceers assembled ready to receive this chief, who came, under the promised truce, to swear fealty to the tyrant. In front of the cabooceers was Poh-veh-soo, the headsman, and his band of club-men. The envoy of peace passed thrice round in front of the council, each time prostrating, and beating the dust with his forehead; on prostrating the third time, Poh-veh-soo and his gang beat the ground, and, with menacing gestures, caused the degrading ceremony to be repeated over and over again.

The king's account of his expenses.

July 2nd. — The mayo and ee-a-voo-gan called with his Majesty's account of what had been disbursed during the customs. The reader may remember, that on the first day

of the customs an amount of 26,000 heads of cowries (dollars) was declared to have been distributed. Since then, the king had never attempted to cause us to prejudge the amount of his wealth. Yet we nervously expected his majesty would now, through his ministers, place his liberality on such a vast scale as would remove it beyond our power to offer what might appear to be a sufficient argument to cause him to abandon his lucrative traffic in slaves. What, then, was our astonishment, when, after being fearfully frightened by the appearance of four slaves, burdened with cowries, which we knew to be the account, we found the sum total to be 32,000 heads of cowries; or, deducting from these one seventh (the difference of the royal "heads of cowries" from the current head), that he laid his expenses at 28,000 dollars. It perhaps may not be out of place here to explain this difference of currency. Cowries, generally, are paid away in their original state; but those emanating from his Majesty are strung by the ladies of the harem, who charge a per-

The royal and common currencies.

centage of fourteen per cent. The commissioners further explained to us, that what we had witnessed was only one custom: that the remainder of the yearly customs would cost 11,820 dollars. From this report, we augured that his Majesty would be open to conviction; but, as the sequel will prove, we calculated without our host.

One of his Majesty's daughters, whom I had frequently met in my walks, sent me a present of yams and fruit, and an invitation to call: she was the chief wife of the miegan. The allurements offered by this sultana were somewhat to be compared to those of "Jack's" temptation, illustrated in Dibdin's "Sea Songs," in point of beauty and extent of person. I concluded that the society of African princesses was not so agreeable as to invite intrigue.

July 3rd. — The mayo and ee-a-voo-gan called, and gave us the royal command to be ready to enter into particulars to-morrow. In conversation about the trade, they told us that, "if one trade-ship arrived in Why-

dah, the king claimed half the trade; if three, he monopolised two." From this we argued, that these worthies would have us to know that whatever was offered in subsidy, one half only became the property of the king: the other of the traders.

The palaver with the king.

July 4th. — It rained hard during the forenoon. At noon we started for the palace, and at 1 P.M. took our seats in front of the royal couch, in the same state as we were before received. The same parties were present as on the former royal interview.

As usual, compliments passed between us, and, after an immaterial conversation, his Majesty stated (each being possessed of the other's account of the expenditure at the customs, so much discussion was saved) that he now wished to know the ulterior object of the embassy.

The ambassadors' speech.

In the first place, we answered, we hoped he would put a stop to the slave-trade in his vast dominions; and in order to do that, we impressed upon him the methods pursued by neighbouring nations, who, by en-

couraging the growth of the palm-tree, had so well met the market, as now to have a far more advanced and lucrative trade than the Portuguese and Brazilians offered to Dahomey. That the first step to the establishment of the palm-oil trade must be the encouragement of labour within his dominions; and, instead of devastating his neighbours' territories (particularly those whose geographical position placed Dahomey between them and the sea), he should, if war were unavoidable, reduce them, binding them by treaties to join in the pursuit of agriculture and trade, and then, by levying transit duties on their goods, cause them to enrich him far more than the mere sale of the slaves of the exterminating hunt. Thus, by making Dahomey the centre of a vast trading country, all kinds of goods would soon find their way into his kingdom, and instead of being dependent on a few merchants for the paltry articles with which they chose to supply him, he might demand the choicest merchandise of the world, — a boon already obtained by many neighbours.

By thus turning a military into an agricultural people, and raising himself into the envious position of a reformer of the iniquitous and fearful habits of his people, in the course of time, he could abolish those fearful sacrifices he had already reduced in numbers, and then his memory would be revered by all nations, and be handed down in love and peace instead of slaughter.

The king's speech.

The king gave a history of trade, from its earliest commencement in Whydah and Dahomey, down to the present date. First, he said, the French came to Whydah before Dahomey conquered it. War put a stop to trade for many years. The white man left Whydah in Ah-dah-hoon-zar's time: the English traders were the first who landed there, and bought slaves. His father had impressed him with the belief that the English were the first of white men: he thought so, and desired much to be at peace with them. "Time had passed," he continued, "but the Dahomans had never given up slave-dealing. His people were soldiers, his revenue the proceeds of the slave trade

(or the sale of prisoners of war). Do we not observe the absence of agriculture? Other nations deal in slaves, but not like me: they keep no customs, make no general disbursement. The slave-trade of these states must be stopped before I can treat."

The ambassadors' reply.

We again observed that he was parting (for a small pecuniary recompense) with the source of all riches, labour; that, if he retained his slaves and made them cultivate the soil, Dahomey (its resources once developed) would become a great nation, and himself a great king.

The king's letter.

The king then dictated a letter to her Majesty, stating his anxiety for peace with Great Britain; his willingness to enter into treaty when the trade was stopped in the neighbouring petty chiefdoms; his wish for a British consul to be sent to his kingdom; for missionaries to visit Dahomey, and reside in Whydah; and that the military state of his subjects alone at present precluded his becoming the head of an agricultural people.

During the writing of this letter the ministers and interpreters were in full conversation, now and then retiring in couples and whispering. One of the interpreters, speaking of the palm-oil trade being the preferable, was at once silenced by Narwhey, who remarked, that the slave trade was "sweet to him when absent from Englishmen." The ministers all showed their pleasure at his Majesty's postponement, except the viceroy of Whydah, who could not disguise an anxiety, lest the refusal might lead his government into danger from the stoppage of trade.

Lord Chichester's letter.

In order that his Majesty should perfectly understand his letter, I read it to him, (through the interpreters); and finding we could do no more on that subject, Mr. Beecroft produced a copy of a letter from the Earl of Chichester to "Sagbua," chief of Abeahkeutah, in answer to one in which that chief had requested British protection. The mention of Abeahkeutah roused the whole, and several sharp questions were at once put why we befriended the Abeahkeutans,

and telling us that they were the enemies of Dahomey.

We explained that it was too evident they intended to make war on Abeahkeutah; that it was our duty to tell the king that the Abeahkeutans were allies of Great Britain, and that several missionaries were residing there, besides a host of liberated Africans.

The king told Mr. Beecroft that he had better warn the missionaries to leave.* And

* My reasons for being thus impressive on the king were: first, a communication has been kept up between Sayloca, the chief, and the Church Mission Society, on the point of protection; secondly, that the whole colony of Sierra Leone is interested by family connection with Abeahkeutah, and, if anything further were wanting, the following evidence from the examination of the Rev. H. Townsend before Mr. Hutt's committee, would suffice.

7759. Can you state to the committee any succour which has been vouchsafed to you in the formation of that missionary settlement (at Abeahkeutah)? Yes; when I first went to Abeahkeutah I met the chief, Sho-de-ke there. He was not the king, but he had virtually all the power of a king, but he had not the title of honour bestowed upon him. He wished me to return to this country, saying, that he would afford

in answer to his question how the missionaries came there, Mr. Beecroft told him,

all the protection that it was possible for him to do, stating that he would help us to build a residence, and even a church, and would give us children to teach, more than it was possible for us to teach. On my return the wars of the country prevented our proceeding to Abeahkeutah, and we remained at Badagry eighteen months, and myself and Mr. Crowther proceeded at that time to Abeahkeutah.

7760. . . . . We had several communications from him (the chief). But a few days after our arrival Sho-de-ke dies; but the chief that was in his room received us very favourably, gave us ground to build on, and assisted us in every way that he could, and the people were most attentive to our instructions. They assembled together in large numbers; in fact, so much so, that we are now in the course of erecting a fifth place of worship in the course of eighteen months.

7761. I think fifty people was the smallest congregation we ever had.

7762. We have had congregations of many hundreds, perhaps five, six, seven, or eight, hundred occasionally, but not in a place of worship.

7763. . . I think we had thirty-six communicants. . . . (Those were people from Sierra Leone.) But I baptized five natives of the country; that is, persons who had never been to Sierra Leone, who were heathens when I reached the country, and I left in one

that " the men of God were in every country where their labour was likely to make impression on the natives. Would he allow them to reside in Abomey ?"

King. — " No; but they may teach in Whydah."

Turning to the mayo, I asked if he had discovered the owner of the two kroomen; but he declared he had not. (These kroomen are not British subjects, and therefore I could go no farther.)

We now explained to the king that he held a British subject in prison; that one John M'Carthy, a liberated Sierra Leone African, was at that time incarcerated in the camboodee's house. We were certain of our information, as his wife had seen and conversed with him, and we demanded his release.

The king turned to the mayo, and ordered him to examine into the case, and report

class for particular instruction for baptism sixty-five individuals; so that altogether there have been seventy persons who have come forward to join the Christian church, professing to have cast away idolatry.

accordingly; and thus ended our last interview by drinking a glass of liqueur together.

July 5th.— The mayo, ee-a-voo-gan, and ca-ou-peh brought his Majesty's presents, and, after much display and many high-flown expressions on the royal munificence, delivered two magnificent country cloths (to me) to present to her Majesty. To Mr. Beecroft and myself (each) a rich country cloth, a captive girl, a cabooceer's stool, and foot-stool, ten heads of cowries, one keg of rum. A small present of cowries and of rum to each interpreter, and our hammockmen. The king's presents.

After the present had been received, the ministers explained to us that his Majesty wished us to know that the last war had cost him 4000 muskets: 4000 more were sent to the Agoonee people; and 4000 were ready for the newly raised soldiers for the next war.

On inquiring when we would start, we explained that we could not leave until some definite answer was given to our demand for the person of John M'Carthy. The mayo

asked for his wife, and, "on her appearance with the child," begged she might go with him, in order to recognise her husband. To which we agreed. On taking leave, the mayo explained that he had the king's command to salute her Majesty and ourselves the following morning.

Employed packing up, and gathering our people.

July 6th. — At six in the morning the mayo and ee-a-voo-gan arrived, and almost at the same time the saluting battery sent forth a salute of twenty-one guns in honour of her Majesty Queen Victoria; while we drank her health in a glass of Madeira; after which, thirteen guns were fired for each, Mr. Beecroft and myself.

We again demand M'Carthy's release.

The ministers were then very anxious to take leave. We demanded of them the deliverance of John M'Carthy, his wife and child (whom we ascertained had been imprisoned by the camboodee). In answer, they explained that the king would certainly free them, but he had not had time to see into the matter.

I then turned to the ee-a-voo-gan (viceroy of Whydah) and put the question, "Would he hold himself responsible to either Mr. Beecroft or myself (should either of us return to Whydah), for the appearance of the prisoners?" He evaded the question, and said that "such a matter was not worth talking about, it was a small palaver, and the king would soon end it; that it was entirely in the king's hands, and that as the prisoners were not in his power, he could not be held responsible."

Seeing, evidently, that if left, the unfortunate trio would be summarily dealt with, I seized my note book, which lay on the table, and standing up, thus addressed them, with strong emphasis:—

"I am going straight to England, and shall acquaint her Majesty that the king of Dahomey holds three British subjects in prison;" at the same time dashing the book on the table. The shock was electrical; they begged of me not to be angry, that they would go at once to the king and intercede. I then added, that "as I had spoken, so I

would act;" and shortly after they took leave.

We leave Abomey.

The baggage having started before, at 10 A.M. we quitted Abomey. A fine clear day. Walked to Cannah.

On arrival, found Mr. Beecroft had gone on to Zooboodoo, and that one of the three men we had purchased was so ill he could not walk. It occupied me about three hours to hire two men to carry him, and purchase a country cloth to sling him to a pole. This man having been doomed by the king, it appeared against the wish of the people to assist him, and for some time I failed in getting any assistance for him; at last, I placed him in my own hammock, and made my hammockmen carry him. Promising that, unless they found others to do so, I would myself walk, and they should carry the wretched man to Whydah, they soon found some slaves of Narwhey whom they pressed into service.

Hasty message from the king. M'Carthy released.

Still walking, I had reached about three miles from Cannah, when a messenger, breathless with haste, overtook me, telling

me that Narwhey (who had left us) was on the road, on horseback, with a message from the king. In a short time he came up, followed by John M'Carthy, his wife, and child, and, prostrating, told me his Majesty had sent them with this message: "He could not keep a British subject in prison." Narwhey hinted that a present would be acceptable to his Majesty; which was sent from Whydah.

We slept at Zooboodoo, and much more happily than we could have expected.

M'Carthy's case.

Mrs. M'Carthy had been seized almost immediately after leaving our house, stripped, chained, and imprisoned in the camboodee's house. Having heard, on the evening of July 5th, from a passer-by, that she had been imprisoned, I sent Richards, one of the interpreters, to ascertain the facts of the case. He returned about one next morning, and explained, that not only had Mrs. M'Carthy been imprisoned, but that her house had been plundered, and the neighbours feared to speak to him about her; that his steps had been dogged by some of the camboodee's

soldiers. About midnight she was clothed and enlarged, and her infant, who had been removed, returned to her, probably from Richards's appearance; shortly after, she was again stripped and ironed.

The next morning, her guards told her that the camboodee would reward her for reporting the king to the white men as soon as they had left the city, and that she might prepare for death. John M'Carthy was also told, that his wife had been seized, and he, his wife, and child, would be put to death that day.

In the forenoon they were taken out of prison, and some of their boxes brought, from which they were hurriedly allowed to select each a dress, and each to make a small bundle; they were then taken to the square of Dange-lah-cordeh, where his Majesty sat, surrounded by his people. Expecting instant death, they prostrated, and were going to throw dirt on their heads, when the king forbade them, told them they were "white men," and that they were now free.

The property of both was retained; nor did I like to interfere further after so great a victory.

July 7th. — Passed the swamp, which was very bad (owing to the late rains); we were twelve hours on the road.

July 8th. — This morning, outside the gate of our quarters at Wagon, guarded by about thirty musketeers, were the bodies of two deceased cabooceers, one from Whydah, the other from Gohdohmeh. It is the custom of Dahomey that the bodies of all officers that die shall be sent for interment to Abomey, for the following reasons: — The bodies of the two cabooceers.

1st. That the king has a sure report of the decease.

2nd. That the official positions are mostly held by Abomey people, and all have ancestral houses in the city, in which there is invariably a family tomb. Whenever a great man, or a man in favour with the king, dies, a boy and a girl at least are sacrificed on the tomb; the girl to be handmaid, the boy to attend the deceased in the land of spirits: these at least, but frequently more. It is

also customary for the favourite wife to commit suicide; being generally the last wish of the dying, and as they imagine they pass into the land of spirits together. But frequently many of the wives are also sacrificed to illustrate the filial piety of the heir.

Arrival at Whydah.

July 9*th.* — Arrived at Whydah, and found H.M.S. Bonetta had anchored the day before.

July 18*th.*—Paid all debts of the Mission. The currency of Dahomey had put us to several straits and inconveniences. I have before mentioned ten dollars as a load, in cowries, for a man. The French merchant's house was the only one we could purchase from; and every week we had to send for a fresh supply. The roads being bad, they were sometimes behind time; and at last we had five of our carriers on the road, besides three sick. We were constrained to hire labour from Narwhey, who lent his slaves at a dollar a head (which he pocketed), subsisting them *en route* at his various farms.

Having sent to the ship for money, Mr.

Down, the clerk in charge, came on shore with it. The surf being very high, he was unable to return, and, I regret to have to record it, contracted the fever, and died on the passage to Sierra Leone.

It was the most sickly time in Whydah, and many we met were either suffering or recovering from fever. By the will and goodness of Providence, we had both escaped; and except an attack of ague (in my case the remains of the same disease in China) we each contracted from getting thoroughly drenched in a tornado, had not had a headache.

July 11*th.* — The sea having moderated a little, embarked the baggage, after it had been once capsized and washed on shore, although damaged, but little lost.

Fetish snake.

July 12. — On leaving the British fort this morning, we learned that an extraordinary instance of the gorging of the fetish snake had taken place in the night. The reptile lay in the kitchen in dreadful pain, trying to force the hind legs and tail of a cat into his distended stomach, now in the shape of the

half-swallowed victim. A fetish woman arriving, carried her deity to the temple.

No canoe-men for British officers.

We had much difficulty in getting canoe-men. Mr. ——'s agent has none; in answer to application at the French fort, the agents sent to regret that their canoe-men were working in rethatching the fort (an unqualified falsehood); the cha-cha's were gone to meet Ignatio Da Souza, whose array as a cabooceer, with noise and dirt, was entering the town; Domingo Martins' were all at Porto Novo. José Almeida, in answer to Mr. ——'s agent's application, sent the truth. "If you want a set of canoe-men for yourself, you shall have them; if for a merchant vessel of any nation, they are at your service; but for British officers, I'll see them damned first!"

Our hammockmen, useful fellows, were put into a canoe belonging to Mr. ——; and the surf not being very high, we got well outside the bar, and embarked in the boats of H. M. S. Bonetta.

The assassin of Don Juan.

I was once in conversation with a native of Madeira, a slave-merchant. "That man,"

he said, pointing to a young Portuguese, "is a murderer." One day, seated in his hall, Don Juan —— entered, and asked him if he had any fire-arms in his house. On being answered in the negative, he displayed a brace of pistols, and snapped each at Don Iago, and then rushed from the house. Don Iago, feeling certain that his life was not safe, and that there was no law to protect him, agreed with a sailor of a captured slaver (a Brazilian) who had been landed, to murder Don Juan for one ounce of gold. That night he watched in vain, and in the night came repentance; the next morning Don Iago sought his hireling, and explained to him his repentance, and offered another ounce to quit him of his engagement. What was his astonishment at its being indignantly rejected!

"Do you think I am chicken-hearted? I have made up my mind Don Juan shall die, and nothing shall save him: if you dare to interfere, I'll have your life too."

In the evening, under the shade of some lofty trees, in the square to the right of the

British fort, the murderer waylaid and shot his victim.

In consequence of the murder of a Portuguese priest by fire-arms some short time before, the king passed a law inflicting a heavy fine for the discharge of fire-arms after dark. No sooner was the deed done, than the murderer was arrested, and marched to Abomey; but the merchants dared not allow the king to revenge their colleague's death, lest, having once executed the extreme penalty of the law on the white man, the precedent might be dangerous. They bought him off.

In a more important case, which occurred about the same time, the king's ideas of justice were not so easily overcome. A German merchant in Fernando Po sent his son to trade with Da Souza; and, leaving his house with some thousands of dollars in specie about his person, was waylaid by one of Da Souza's sons, and murdered. The culprit was seized and confined, but escaped by giving up three slaves to be decapitated;

whose heads on gibbets marked the spot for months after.

Arriving at Princes, we were soon joined by H.M.S. Centaur, with the pendant of the commander-in-chief; and on July 24th sailed for England; Mr. Beecroft proceeding in H. M. S. Jackal to the seat of his government, Fernando Po.

I am not sure that my fellow-traveller, Mr. Beecroft, would much like my passing eulogium on him. His activity astonished me; and his perseverance was far beyond what could be expected, after two and twenty years' service in Africa, most of it in the rivers, and (perhaps not generally known) nine years in a French prison. As consul in the Bights he has the reward of many important services: the assistance he rendered the unfortunate Niger expedition by no means the least. As a fellow-labourer, although considerably my senior in years, he always took his share of the work; and as a companion, I would not wish a better.

With Mr. Beecroft I sent the two men I

had purchased to Fernando Po, where the generous governor promised to give each a piece of land. At parting I gave them a bag of clothes, the names of John and George Forbes, and a free paper, as follows: —

"Released from the Dahomey shambles, May 31st."

The king's present, the little girl, I have brought to England. She ingratiated herself with the crew, among whom she was a general favourite.

Should the Abeahkeutans make a good defence, a check might do much towards putting down this slave-hunting monarch; Abeahkeutah, being a central point of trade, might, if the conquering party, soon overrule the other slave monarchs, and, assisted by the presence of the squadron without, put a stop to the slave trade in the Bights, reducing the line of coast to be blockaded to a mere tithe of what it was two years since.

The Dahoman captive, Sarah Forbes Bonetta.

I have only to add a few particulars about my extraordinary present, "the African child." In a former portion of these journals I have mentioned the Okeadon

war: one of the captives of this dreadful slave hunt was this interesting girl. It is usual to reserve the best born for the high behests of royalty, and the immolation on the tombs of the deceased nobility. For one of these ends she had been detained at court for two years; proving, by her not having been sold to the slave-dealers, that she was of a good family.

So extraordinary a present would have been at least a burden, had I not the conviction that, in consideration of the nature of the service I had performed, the government would consider her as the property of the Crown. To refuse, would have been to have signed her death-warrant; which, probably, would have been carried into execution forthwith.

Immediately on arriving, I applied through the Secretary of the Admiralty, and received for answer that Her Majesty was graciously pleased to arrange for the education and subsequent fate of the child. God grant she may be taught to consider that her duty leads her to rescue those who have not

had the advantages of education from the mysterious ways of their ancestors!

Of her own history she has only a confused idea. Her parents were decapitated; her brothers and sisters, she knows not what their fate might have been. For her age, supposed to be eight years, she is a perfect genius; she now speaks English well, and has a great talent for music. She has won the affections, with but few exceptions, of all who have known her, by her docile and amiable conduct, which nothing can exceed. She is far in advance of any white child of her age, in aptness of learning, and strength of mind and affection; and with her, being an excellent specimen of the negro race, might be tested the capability of the intellect of the Black: it being generally and erroneously supposed that after a certain age the intellect becomes impaired, and the pursuit of knowledge impossible — that though the negro child may be clever, the adult will be dull and stupid. Her head is considered so excellent a phrenological specimen, and illustrating such high

intellect, that Mr. Pistrucci, the medallist of the mint, has undertaken to take a bust of her, intending to present a cast to the author. Her mind has received a moral and religious impression, and she was baptized, according to the rites of the Protestant church, Sarah Forbes Bonetta.

Thus do I close my notes of a visit to a country, and residence among a people, heretofore known only by report to Europeans. My long service in the African squadron, as well as the peculiar nature of my mission, have naturally led me to introduce a few observations on the question of the repression of the iniquitous traffic. Generally, however, I have preferred to give facts as I found them, and to leave them to speak for themselves.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

Procession of the King's Wealth. May 30th, 1850.

58 ministers and caboocers, headed by Ah-hoh-peh, the king's brother, followed by Ignatio Da Souza, after marching three times round the square, all except the latter prostrated, and threw dirt on their heads.

30 military officers, the same.

40 privileged males marched round and bowed to the throne.

12 eunuchs marched three times round, and, prostrating, kissed the dust.

16 native merchants from Whydah prostrated, and threw dust on their heads.

The king left his throne, and crossed over to our station. After a short conversation he drank

our health, guns firing, ministers and cabooceers, &c., dancing and shouting on his Majesty's return.

16 malams (Mahomedan priests from Haussa) marched round, prostrated, and kissed the dust. I much doubt, except in dress and some outward show, that these priests are Mahomedans; the very fact of their prostrating to the king would go far to prove them not.

14 liberated "Bahia" Africans, in the European costume, advanced in front of the king's position, and standing, saluted him with cries of '*Viva el rey de Dahomey!*" These unfortunate men are forced sojourners in the land.

200 male soldiers, holding aloft their muskets, saluted the king with their rattles. "Each soldier has a metal rattle round his neck."

200 amazons saluted the king in a similar manner as above.

40 amazon standard-bearers passed in review.

14 of the royal sisters prostrated and kissed the dust.

Procession in single file of 2540 women next passed, carrying the royal wealth to the market (each bearing her portion on her head), to display it to the nation, as follows:

6 head royal wives.

7 forming a band of amazons playing on horns made of solid elephant's tusks.

5 carrying painted poles.

5 drawing a standard on a car, on wheels.

9 carrying standards, two of them union-jacks.

12 carrying red poles, with yellow heads.

3 carrying crutch sticks.

17 carrying hoes covered with red baize.

1 carrying a silver scimitar.

90 carrying jugs covered with white cloth, all dressed in spotted blue tobes.

130 carrying cowries (about three dollars'-worth each).

13 carrying cowries (about two dollars'-worth each).

143 all dressed in red striped tobes.

16 carrying hoes covered with red cloth.

30 carrying walking sticks.

22 carrying swords.

22 carrying muskets, two each.

111 carrying wooden ornaments of dogs, pigs, sheep, &c., jugs, &c., and two glass chandeliers, all in striped tobes.

25 carrying silver ornaments, tea-pots, &c.

30 forming a band of drums, tom-toms, &c.

12 forming a band of calabash instruments.

16 royal sisters.

28 forming a band of tom-toms.

6 carrying cloths.

20 forming a band of tom-toms, drums, &c.

30 ladies in hats and feathers, the representatives in the harem of the thirty privileged males, necromancers.

50 surrounding the head wife, who passed, unseen, under an umbrella.

30 forming a band of elephant's tusk horns.

20 children.

10 wives of the king.

2 carrying blunderbusses.

5 carrying long sticks with silver heads.

21 wives of the king in grass cloth dresses, and white head-bands.

8 wives of the king in blue tobes.

1220 carrying cowries, from two to four heads each, or from two to four dollars'-worth.

200 carrying each a plateful of cowries.

18 carrying each two heads of cowries, in mats.

7 carrying each two heads of cowries, in baskets.

7 carrying each two heads of cowries, in mats.

170 carrying each two rolls of cloth.

46 carrying each two rolls of white baft.

8 carrying each a basket of hats.

47 carrying each several Dutch pipes.

7 carrying each several pouches.

7 carrying each rolls of tobacco.

5 carrying each two kegs of wine.

10 carrying each two kegs of rum.
4 carrying each rolls of tobacco.
16 carrying each a piece of salt beef.
2 carrying each calabashes of flint.

MEN.

4 men, each carrying on his head a man tied hand and foot, and lashed in a wooden canoe, intended for to-morrow's sacrifice.

8 men, each carrying on his head a man tied hand and foot, and lashed in baskets, intended for to-morrow's sacrifice.

1 man carrying an alligator, lashed in a basket, for sacrifice.

1 man carrying a cat, lashed in a basket, for sacrifice.

3 men carrying each a human skull.

3 men carrying the royal stool of state, ornamented with human skulls.

20 men carrying the royal drums, one ornamented with twenty human skulls.

12 men carrying a huge tub, ornamented with carved men's heads.

6 men carrying a drum, ornamented with twelve human skulls.

4 men leading two horses and two sheep.

3 men leading an emu.

3 men leading an ostrich.

30 male soldiers armed with muskets.

12 forming a male band of elephants' tusks.

12 forming a male band of drums.

10 males carrying silver ornaments, each three feet high.

100 male soldiers, armed with muskets.

8 dwarfs and hunchbacks.

20 male soldiers armed with muskets.

12 forming a male band of drums.

30 singing men.

12 forming a male band.

50 male soldiers armed with muskets.

WOMEN.

60 amazons of the elephant destroyers.

20 carrying war stools, ornamented with human skulls.

20 amazons armed with muskets.

20 amazons carrying drums ornamented with twenty-four skulls.

12 amazons, band of drums, &c.

20 amazons armed with muskets.

12 carrying drum ornamented with twelve skulls.

20 amazons armed with blunderbusses.

12 amazons, band of elephant's tusk horns.

20 amazons, armed with muskets.

1 amazon leading a horse.

20 amazons, armed with muskets.

12 forming a band, drums.

60 amazons, armed with muskets.

12 forming a band, drums.

20 amazons.

1 amazon leading a horse.

12 forming a band, elephant's tusk horns.

60 amazons guarding a carriage drawn by four, and attended by four of the king's wives under parasols.

20 amazons.

15 women carrying silver ornaments.

19 women carrying washing basins.

10 women carrying ornaments.

12 women carrying mahogany boxes.

8 women carrying mahogany liquor cases.

20 group of girls.

4 men carrying a wooden imitation of a fort carried by the Dahoman amazons.

16 women carrying state stools.

8 ladies of the royal chamber, handsomely dressed, ornamented with gold and silver, attended by

40 women.

13 women carrying calabashes of provisions.

3 women carrying silver baskets.

500 amazons, armed with muskets.

12 forming a band of tom-toms.

10 fetish women.

4 women drawing a carriage made in Dahomey.

33 women carrying large silver-headed sticks.

1 woman carrying a silver scimitar.

4 women carrying large silver ornaments.

1 woman carrying silver baskets.

40 women carrying jugs and ornaments.

50 women carrying pots-de-chambre.

15 women carrying white glass goblets.

13 women carrying blue glass goblets.

70 women carrying blue bottles, from two to three gallons each.

50 women carrying washing-jugs.

4 women carrying one chandelier.

3 women carrying trunks.

2 women carrying one long tin box.

1 woman carrying a washing-tub.

4 women carrying one chest of drawers, with looking-glass.

MEN.

20 soldiers, armed with muskets.

14 carrying banners.

12 carrying three large calabashes full of the skulls of kings, &c., killed in war.

30 king's brothers and nephews.
1 albino.

Women.

30 malams' wives and attendants round the head eunuch's mother.

12 forming a band of tom-toms.

6 women carrying skulls in calabashes.

12 forming a band of elephant's tusk horns.

30 singing women.

20 amazons, armed with muskets.

30 women from the Leffleefoo province.

30 women from the Taffla provinces.

25 dancing women.

18 king's wives and attendants, under six umbrellas.

We received a present of rum in a country pot ornamented with beads.

40 amazons, armed with muskets, guarding eight skull-surmounted banners.

60 amazons, banners, skulls, &c., surrounding the lady holding the title of royal mother.

20 amazons, armed with muskets.

60 amazons, banners, skulls, &c., surrounding the royal grandmother.

We received a present of dinner, consisting of soups, stews, and fowls, in washhand basins, &c.;

knives and forks, of very antique shape, of iron. We discussed our dinner with some lemonade, gayzeuse, and noyeau, sent by his Majesty.

40 women carrying banners, stools, and boxes.

60 amazons, banners, and attendants, round two ancient ladies of the harem, bearing the title of dowager queens.

10 women carrying human skulls.

40 amazons, banners, &c., round one dowager queen.

70 amazons, banners, &c., round one dowager queen.

30 women dance before the queen.

60 amazons' band, and dancing women.

30 band and singing women round one royal wife, in a cuirass.

20 amazons, armed with muskets.

2 amazons carrying British union-jacks.

30 royal wives, handsomely dressed.

2 amazons carrying each a large knife mounted on a human skull.

5 carrying each a shield ornamented with a human skull.

8 carrying each a banner, the pole surmounted by a human skull.

20 band of drums.

200 amazons, armed with muskets, attending on seven wives, mothers by the king, handsomely

dressed, all danced before the king, with the skull ornaments above mentioned.

80 trophies of war, arms, &c.

We received a present of some wine in a novel set of decanters, being the bottles of a handsome cruet-stand; the mustard-pot of which, we were given to understand, was the tumbler of the set.

For the last hour, the groups forming the procession had been returning, and the ladies of the royal household had merely passed in review. All parties on re-entering the court-yard, collected, *en masse*, under some large trees in front of the royal tent; in front, the royal wives, and in their rear, the amazons and bands. When the last of the procession had passed, an opera scene commenced; the royal ladies singing, in his Majesty's praise, their songs, chorused by the whole of the amazons, relieved every now and then by parties of dancing girls. The procession consisted of 6,500 people; in the court were, besides, about 2000 females round the king, and about 5000 males on the opposite side, observers of the day's fête; while, outside the palace, were the whole nation, admirers of the magnificence of their sovereign. Immediately outside the gate, was a huge wooden model of an elephant, on wheels, caparisoned, and bearing on its back, a howdah: this is the "car-

riage" on which his Majesty is drawn when he travels short stages in state.

The articles of the royal wealth are the proceeds of the slave trade, and more than two thirds of them British. It would be easy to estimate their actual value; but not the revenue of the kingdom, as that fluctuates, dependent on the annual slave hunt. The actual amount of money displayed in cowries (the currency of the state) was as near as possible 4500 dollars, or about 1000 pounds, sounding, in sterling money, but a small sum; yet, when it be considered that this money is imported in 112 hogsheads, and consists of 11,250,000 cowrie shells, it will appear differently.

B.

Appendix to the Review of the First of June.

NUMBER OF ARMED MEN IN EACH REGIMENT, AND NAMES OF THE OWNERS OR GENERALS.

No. in Regiment.		Generals.
100	muskets -	The possoo.
50	do. -	To-kae-noo.

No. in Regiment.		Generals.
20	muskets -	Toh-gah-poh.
200	do. -	The camboodee.
20	do. -	Dah-qwae.
50	do. -	Ah-jae-noo.
20	do. -	Ah-do-moh-noo-to.
80	do. -	Ah-soh-gnon.
8	do. -	Nea-ga-do-boo.
22	do. -	A-dah-fong-ko.
4	do. -	Kah-zoo.
14	do. -	Heng-joh.
26	do. -	Boh-peh.
6	do. -	Ah-lee-lae-noo.
7	do. -	Mae-choo noo.
40	do. -	Faw-nee.
30	do. -	No-de-ferey.
50	do. -	A-che-lee.
38	do. -	A-jah-woo.
41	do. -	Toh-koo-noo-vee-joh.
52	do. -	Yah-joh.
22	do. -	Mee-veh-doh.
80	do. -	Ah-kee-lee-vee.
130	do. -	Ignatio da Souza.
149	do. -	The ee-a-voo-gan (viceroy).
300	do. -	The mayo (minister).
140	do. -	The miegan (prime minister).
350	do. -	The king's sons.
1000	do. -	The king's men.

No in Regiment.		Generals.
660	muskets -	The king's brothers.
80	musketoons -	The camboodee (treasurer).
40	bows and arrows -	E-jah-koh.
20	musk. grasscoats	Zoh-poh.
3831	total fighting men.	
396	bandsmen.	
50	banner-men.	
100	umbrella-men.	
4377	total men reviewed.	

NUMBER OF ARMED AMAZONS IN EACH REGIMENT.

420	armed with muskets.
14	do.
32	wall-pieces.
7	blunderbusses.
53	muskets.
36	do.
11	do.
320	do.
80	do.
240	do.
300	do.

60 muskets.
56 do.
104 do.
240 do.
96 do.

2069 total fighting women.
252 bandswomen.
27 banner-women.
60 umbrellas.

2408 total women reviewed.
4377 men.

6785 total soldiers under arms.

C.

Presents distributed by the King, May 31st.

During the greater part of the day his Majesty was employed in throwing goods to his soldiers, to the amount of 2000 dollars in value; besides which he distributed as follows:

A large country cloth to each of—

8 ministers.

20 military officers received ten heads of cowries * and one piece of white baft.

50 head men of towns ten heads of cowries, four pieces of cloth, and one bottle of rum.

30 head men of towns in Mahee, the same.

30 head men of towns in Ahgonee, the same.

23 head men of towns in Ashantee, the same.

16 head men of towns in Eyeo, the same.

1 head Malam one head of cowries, half piece of baft.

1 king's fool, half head of cowries.

4 gunners, half head of cowries.

7 human skull standard-bearers.

His Majesty sent ten heads of cowries (value ten dollars) and two pieces of cloth, as presents to Mr. Beecroft and myself.

30 head men of scramblers, half head of cowries each.

Breakfast sent by his Majesty.

50 ministers and cabooceers, one bag of cowries (twelve dollars), one piece of white baft, and one roll of tobacco.

The king presented a chief of Kangaroo with one head of cowries, and one piece of cloth.

To Ah-hoh-peh, the king's brother, the same.

* A head of cowries is 2,500 shells.

Succeeded by twelve human sacrifices, an alligator, and a cat, given by the king to his people.

D.

Procession of the Royal Wealth, June 3rd, 1850.

AFTER the prostrations of the ministers and high officers in a similar manner as described in May 30th, came the procession in single file, each person carrying goods on the head in the following order:

PROCESSION OF WOMEN.

40 cabooceers of the king's harem under umbrellas, and preceded by two standards, followed by a band of drums and tom-toms.

160 amazons in handsome country cloth tunics and silver ornaments, white caps, and blue device.

46 fetish women, in cloths of all colours, passed under a salute of great guns.

6 amazons, richly dressed, being a part of the harem police.

8 band playing on elephant's tusk horns.

3 carrying banner poles.

7 carrying calabashes of cloths.

11 girls in crimson robes playing on long-mouthed instruments, like clarionets.

6 girls, shorter.

18 carrying hoes with scarlet handles.

1 carrying silver scimitar.

66 carrying country pots.

117 carrying country pots ornamented with beads.

9 carrying large country pots.

11 carrying baskets.

54 carrying red beads round their arms, and several coral necklaces round their necks.

25 carrying beads round their arms, and several blue necklaces round their necks.

17 carrying yellow beads round their arms, and yellow necklaces round their necks.

10 carrying red beads round their arms, and red coral necklaces round their necks; all these in spotted red robes, and each carrying a bamboo broom in her left hand.

1 carrying basket of cowries.

33 carrying ornamented baskets, blue robes.

31 carrying whips and sticks, in scarlet cloth robes and beads.

13 carrying red coral beads, blue robes, and hats.

19 wearing white hats.

68 in red robes, carrying sticks in their left hands.

16 in blue robes.

12 in white spotted robes.

2 carrying images.

2 carrying carved sheep.

2 carrying dogs, image.

1 carrying bird, image.

1 carrying horseman clock, image.

3 carrying images.

19 carrying Toby Philpot pots (in robes of various colours).

19 in bonnets, scarlet robes and beads, bamboo brooms in left hand.

5 no bonnets, scarlet robes and beads, bamboo brooms in left hand.

38 in blue tunics, red caps, balancing muskets by the muzzles, stocks in the air.

1 of the royal wives in a slouched black hat, crimson robe.

8 followers in red robes.

12 carrying pots ornamented with cowries.

37 carrying cloths, silks, velvets, &c.

2 carrying glass chandeliers.

7 carrying French ornaments.

3 carrying large silver ornaments, one three feet high (an ostrich with a real egg under each wing), in robes of various colours.

2 amazons.

10 composing the band.

30 singers.

11 composing a band, in tunics of country cloth.

6 carrying jars covered with cloth.

2 carrying baskets.

1 carrying gilt chair.

1 carrying ebony chest, bound with silver.

2 carrying baskets.

1 carrying calabash.

1 carrying box.

The above 1019 women marched by in single file, all well dressed, and at close distances, with the articles on their heads.

8 amazons, guard.

4 amazons, with long brass trumpets, surrounded by 100 women in different coloured robes. Under a red umbrella, unseen, one of the king's wives.

Band of forty.

Guard of sixteen amazons.

2 banner women.

5 of the royal wives in slouched hats, and scarlet and crimson dresses.

7 carrying sticks.

9 carrying sticks.

300 with dishes, and a basket in each.

55 carrying blue glass goblets.

50 carrying white glass goblets.

2 of the royal wives in slouched hats.

3 attendants.

All the above, well dressed, march in single file, with articles on the head.

Procession of Men.

1 carrying banner.

1 carrying a tray containing three human skulls.

2 carrying large king's war-stools, covered with crimson damask and silver, and ornamented with human skulls, carried by twelve men.

3 attendants.

12 (guard) armed with blunderbusses, in blue and red country cloth tunics, white caps, blue device.

King's washing-tub, borne by thirty (guard).

2 carrying scarlet and gold sedan-chair.

6 guard.

10 bearers, banner.

4 guard.

Box on wheels.

20 attendants.

2 carrying umbrellas.

2 officers in scarlet tunics, leading an emu and an ostrich.

6 men.

8 composing band.

To each of the following articles, carriages, &c., was a band of, on an average, 10.

20 guard.

2 banner-men.

2 carrying umbrellas.

Landau (English).

Large box on four wheels.

Rich bed, with crimson silk damask curtains.

2 horses, and three large goats, elegantly caparisoned.

1 man carrying umbrella, ornamented with eighty human jaw-bones from the Eyeo war.

6 carrying skull drum.

12 carrying skulls.

14 guard.

26 men.

3 carrying skull drums.

2 skulls and twenty jaw-bones.

20 men.

6 carrying skull drums.

24 carrying skulls.

20 composing band.

20 guard.

20 blunderbuss men.

6 boys.

10 guard.

10 men drawing wooden horse, on wheels.

20 composing band.
20 composing band.
20 composing band.
20 composing band.
2 carrying huge tin vases.
3 carrying banners.
4 carrying spears.
16 guard.
A green chariot (English).
20 followers.
20 dwarfs.
18 composing band.
16 guard.
2 carrying banners.
A native sofa.
20 composing band.
14 bearers.
Horse caparisoned.
16 carrying spears (guard).
An English chariot (yellow).
16 men.
20 guard.
20 guard.
Band of four brass drums (English).
3 tambourines (English).
5 guard.
4 composing band.

All the above were well-dressed in tunics or robes of every hue, and marched past in very good order.

Procession of Women.

Banner.

40 amazons, in crimson tunics and red caps, that draw the carriages when the king rides.

3 war-stools covered with crimson and silver-velvet cloth, ornamented with human skulls, borne by seventeen.

Guard 26.

1 carrying umbrella.

1 head wife.

Drum ornamented with twelve skulls.

Band 6.

Guard 21.

2 carrying drums; one ornamented with human jaw-bones and skulls.

1 drum with twenty-four skulls, borne by thirty.

Band of 6.

Guard of 20 carrying blunderbusses and small brass guns; all dressed in red tunics and caps.

Each of the following were attended by a guard of about twenty.

Band 10.

30 bearers.

An English wheeled-chair of the time of Elizabeth.

Wheeled-chair, with a huge bird before it, on wheels of Dahomey make.

Highly carved gold and crimson chair.

Handsome small cabriolet, lined with crimson silk.

Glass coach, Dahomey make.

English family-coach.

Blue and gold elegant sedan chair.

Guard 100.

Warrior on wheels, Dahomey make.

2 wooden mounted horsemen on wheels (English).

2 banners.

Sarcophagus on wheels.

In single file, with articles on their heads.

2 children.

1 head wife.

10 carrying ornaments.

16 carrying glass bottles.

16 carrying washing basins.

10 carrying basins, full of scarfs.

1 carrying a large silver ornament.

5 carrying basins heaped with small cowries.

14 carrying mahogany boxes and desks, with cloths, silks, velvets, &c., on top.

1 carrying a red and gold vase.

1 carrying a brass pan, full of cloths.

The above carried by women in damask silk dresses.

1 huge ottoman of deer skin, painted or dyed.

1 banner.

1 huge hat.

40 women. The imitation of the fort in Kangaroo, taken by the Dahomans.

3 stools.

Guard of 200 amazons.

3 huge European-shaped and two smaller umbrellas.

6 ladies of the chamber dressed most magnificently in scarlet and gold tunics, slashed with green silk and satin, with sashes and handkerchiefs of silk, satin, and velvet of every colour; coral and bead necklaces, silver ornaments and wristbands: one wore a Charles II.'s hat, covered with gold lace and milk-white plumes; the other five wore gilt helmets, with green and red plumes. Each carried a high cane, surmounted with large gold or silver beads. These ladies are called the *Pausee*, and are of the principal wives; they took their stand to the left of the tent, while the guard formed round a tree in front, together with many more amazons, and all sang the king's praises. The scene now was purely theatrical; the dresses beautiful; altogether about 1000

women under arms, in uniform, crimson, red, and scarlet tunics, while the procession continued to pass in front.

8 carrying silver ornaments.

4 carrying silver bottle-stands.

3 carrying silver baskets.

7 carrying basins, with three bottles in each.

3 carrying coloured bottles.

8 carrying other ornaments.

Procession again in single file.

Band 30.

Dahoman-made chair on wheels, covered with handsome country cloth.

1 umbrella.

20 women.

26 carrying large silver-headed sticks.

Silver scimitar.

2 carrying boxes.

8 carrying glass ornaments and jar.

16 carrying washing-jugs.

23 carrying French ornamented jugs.

16 carrying water coolers.

52 carrying chamber utensils, more useful than ornamental.

50 carrying white glass bottles.

51 carrying blue bottles.

73 carrying large blue bottles of two or three gallons.

52 carrying white flowered vases.

6 carrying jars.

1 carrying a calabash.

10 carrying French ornaments under glass shades.

1 carrying a washing-pan.

1 carrying a crimson-cushioned ebony rocking-chair.

1 carrying a box.

1 carrying a washing stand.

1 carrying a toilette table, drawërs, and glass.

2 carrying stools.

3 carrying banners.

1 carrying a skull in a copper pan.

2 carrying calabashes, full of skulls.

2 carrying shields.

Head bunseh's mother, in scarlet, wearing a life-guardsman's helmet and plumes, and attended by a lady in a Charles II.'s hat and plumes, both magnificently dressed.

8 Malam's wives.

Band 20.

Guard 100.

Band of 12.

30 Whydah women of the harem pass dancing.

Band of 12.

60 Yoriba women of the harem pass dancing.

Band of 12.

60 Kato women dancing; one advances, dances, and throws herself back into the arms of three others, who receive her and replace her on her legs; then another, &c.

Band of 8.

9 European umbrellas over the nine matrons of the harem.

30 attendants.

Band of 20.

Guard 40.

4 carrying pans of skulls.

2 carrying jars surmounted with skulls.

1 carrying a large pan of skulls.

1 carrying a banner.

2 carrying umbrellas over the king's mother and her attendant, in country cloth dresses and slouched hats trimmed with gold.

The following are attended by —

20 band.

30 guard.

2 carrying pans of skulls.

2 carrying jars of skulls.

1 carrying a banner and two umbrellas each.

King's grandmother in head-dress of silver, crimson and silver robe and train, held by a maiden bearing a gold-headed stick: the former (the grandmother) sent us about half a pint of rum.

One of the king's grandfather's widows in scarlet and gold.

Another king's widow in gold-laced hat and crimson robe.

Another king's widow in gilt helmet and red robe.

30 women, in scarlet tunics and red caps, form a circle round a band in front of the tent, and dance very spiritedly; one of the amazons performs a *pas seul*, screeching wildly. Six with horses' tails and spears with handkerchiefs on them, dressed in blue tunics and high glazed caps, dance a spear-dance before thirty attendants (in front of the king's tent), who keep time with their feet to the dance.

4 carrying banners.

2 carrying images.

Guard 30.

20 in blue tunics, red trousers, and red and silver caps, dance a sword-dance, with naked swords; the guard in red tunics join in the dance, sing, howl, hold their muskets aloft, rattle their rattles, and fall in round the tree.

12 amazons bring the muzzles of their muskets and their heads together in a circle, howl, and dance a musket-dance.

Amazon guard advancing and retreating a pace, shouting and singing.

E.

Names of the Ministers and Officers of the Dahoman Kingdom, who received the Royal Bounty June 7th, 1849, with the Amount given to each.

	Dolls.		Dolls.
Miegan - - -	8	Ah-noo-loh-ko - -	2½
Mayo - - -	do.	Too-ah - - -	do.
Ee-a-voo-gan - -	do.	Tan-soo-pah-sah -	do.
Ah-quea-noo - -	do.	Ah-re-deh-noo - -	do.
Ah-joh-vee - -	6	Noh-de-ferey - -	do.
Que-jah - - -	do.	Ah-voh-tee-meh -	do
Hoo-doo-noo - -	do.	Gar-gar - - -	do.
Near-whey - -	5	Kar-sol-noh - -	do.
Achele - - -	4	Koo-teh-see - -	do.
A-hoch-see-boh-ee-nea	do.	Sau-gau - - -	4
Ah-soh-gnon - -	do.	Boo-peh-ah-tee-teh -	2
Ah-doo-noo-hoon-too -	do.	Teh-peh-hoong - -	do.
Ea-eh-hoo - - -	2½	Ah-hoh-peh - -	2
Toh-mah-tee - -	do.	Ah-poh-nae-peh -	3
Gan-seh - - -	do.	Ah-doo-boh-noo - -	2
Ke-koo - - -	do.	So-soo-long - -	do.
Boo-gee-loo-noo -	do.	Tee-beh-na-boh -	do.
Toh-far - - -	do.	A-poh-loh-gau - -	do.
Ah-jah-hoh - -	do.	Ah-leen-deh-noo -	do.
Ah-veh-see-peh - -	do.	Ah-goo-doo - -	do.
Boo-joh - - -	do.	Ah-ting-teh - -	do.
Boo-gee-toh-noo -	do.	Poo-gau - - -	do.
Beh-neh - - -	do.	Tok-poh - - -	do.

	Dolls.		Dolls.
Boh-sah - - -	2	Gan-joh - - -	1½
Joo-joh - - -	do.	Zaun-boo-dee - -	do.
Toh-sah-voh-loo-koh -	do.	Lah-oo-bah - -	do.
A-goh-soo-toh-toh-ho-tar	do.	Hoong-jae-noo - -	do.
A-doh-mah-hoh - -	do.	Wee-ah-dah - -	do.
Hoo-ah-noo - - -	do.	Ah-doong-on-dee -	do.
Boh Kon - - -	do.	Hoo-pah-wa - -	do.
Boh-kar-soo-al - -	1½	Wee-an-deh - -	do.
Ah-bah-ea-hoon -	do.	Eh-kee-toh-beh-re -	do.
Boh-koh-da-dah - -	do.	Doe-mae-noo - -	do.
Ah-loh-poh - -	do.	Tah-oong - - -	do.
Koh-soo-poo-leh -	do.	Wae-soo-ma-kong -	do.
Sah-see - - -	do.	Tah-see - - -	do.
A-dong-see - -	do.	Mah-koon-doo - -	do.
Ah-hoo-loo-noh - -	do.	Pah-heh-kee-lee -	do.
Sah-peh-dog-beh -	do.	Beh-re-sar - -	do.
Sah-peh-doo-hah-hoong	do.	Soo-mah-jae - -	do.
Ho-see - - -	do.	Ah-hung-ko-see - -	do.
A-ding-see-gan - -	do.	Bossoo-peh - -	do.
Chah-kah-teh - -	do.	Tah-pah - - -	do.
Beh-koh-che-kah-teh -	do.	Wha-noo-meh - -	do.
Bah - - - -	do.	Ah-koh-gewee - -	do.
Deh-jah - - -	do.	Be-quae-see - -	do.
Jah-ah-noo - -	do.	Hoon-hah-jee - -	do.
Hoh-goron - -	do.	Ah-dah-jee - -	do.
Yoo-loh-koo - -	do.	Ah-dang-boh-zee -	do.
Boh-deh-vee-cha-cha -	do.	Zah-kah-nee - -	do.
Kee-cheh - - -	do.	Ah-poh-mae-see -	do.
Voh-doong-boo - -	do.	Ah-boh-loo-poh-noo-gan	do.
Toh-koo-noo-veh-soo -	do.	Bah-doh-hoong - -	do.
A-jeh-voo-noo - -	do.	Ah-poh-doh - -	do.
Ah-dah-fong-koo -	do.	Ah-hoh-keh-soo -	do.
A-tee-nee-see - -	do.	Voh-joh - - -	do.
Ah-woh-teh - -	do.	Poh-hah - - -	do.
Tah-see-sar - -	do.	Ah-gae-see-veh-gnon	do.
Ah-oh-see - - -	do.	Voh-doong - -	do.

	Dolls.
Hoo-soo-koh-joh -	1½
Ah-voh-lee-bee - -	do.
Voh-doo-noo-ah-joh-nŏh	do.
Wee-moe-hoh - -	do.
Begh-long-poh-soo -	do.
Mee-bah-deh - -	do.
Ah-doh-neh-jeh -	do.
Ah-loh-ah-noo - -	do.
Hoo-gaun - -	do.
Ah-joh-bah - -	2
Noh-noh-voh - -	1½
Boh-deh-tee - -	do.
Beh-kon-see - -	do.
Jar-bah - - -	do.
Ah-jah-kah-lee - -	do.
Weh-sek-pah - -	do.
Ah-vah-neh-noh -	do.
Goo-ah-nah - -	do.
Fae-neh - - -	do.
Ah-foh-jah-noo-koh -	do.
Dong-hoh-soo - -	do.
Ah-ah-veh - -	do.
Ah-kee-jeh - -	do.
Ah-qua-jee - -	do.
Ah-kah-tee - -	do.
Dosso-lae-qae - -	do.
Teh-nee - - -	do.
Doh-sar-noo - -	do.
Ah-jar-see - -	do.
Boh-deng-see - -	do.
So-boh-see - -	do.
Ah-dah-re-see - -	do.
At-teh-shee - -	do.
The cha-cha, Domingo, Ignatio, Antonio, and ourselves, were called, and received each six heads, and a glass of gin - - -	36
Dossoo-eea-noo - -	2
Mr. Brown - -	4
Madiki Lemon - -	do.
Mee-koh-loh - -	do.
Hoo-tong-gee - -	2
Bah-joo-roo (Pedro) -	do.
People from Dekkon -	6
King's brother - -	do.
Ah-bah-lah - -	2
Co-coo-san-tee - -	do.
Ambassador from Ashantee - - -	6
Ah-ma-see-peh-deh -	2
Ah-gee-hah-beh -	do.
Koh-sar-koo-leh-oo -	do.
Go-ee-meh - -	do.
Dossoo-keh - -	do.
Ah-boh-loo-too - -	do.
Pelong Kelong - -	do.
Doh-gae-loh-gee -	do.
Ah-poh-toh - -	do.
Bah-toh-soh - -	do.
Boh-ko-che-ah-peh -	do.
Ah-toh - - -	do.
Ah-doh-noo - -	do.
Doon-pwee - -	do.
Lah-peh-kol - -	do.
Ah-moo-soo - -	do.
Ee-ah-wee-nee - -	do.
Eemocks - - -	3
Doh-gah-boh-soo -	do.
Ah-mah-gee-peh-leh -	2
Pah-nee-gan's - -	do.

	Dolls.		Dolls.
Camboodee - -	6	Hoong-see-noo - -	1½
15 votaries of Venus kissed the ground, and threw dirt on their heads before the king.		Mee-ah-wee-pah -	do.
		2 of Souza's sons -	5
		14 liberated Africans -	3
		14 liberated Africans -	do.
Too-noo-noo - -	4	Beh-gae-dee, king of	
Koao-peh - - -	do.	Mahee (tribute) -	do.
To-oo-poh - -	3	58 caboocers - -	6
Zah-noo-gon - -	2	Ah-pu-loh-peh - -	3
Ah-boh-gee-veh -	do.	Do-mah-joo-loo-pae,	
Joh-me-nah-soo-veh -	do.	king of Pangweeah -	do.
Beh-dee - - -	do.	Poh-veh-soh's people -	do.
Koh-joh - - -	do.	Fool - - -	½
Leh-groo - - -	do.	Band - - -	3
Gar-jah-noo-kong -	do.	Crier - - -	2
Ah-pah-dah - -	do.	Fools - - -	do.

F.

Names of Ministers, Merchants, &c., Receivers of the Royal Bounty, June 17th, 1850.

Ee-a-voo-gan - -	10 dolls.	3 galls. of rum.
Quae-nung - -	10	3
Ah-joh-vee - -	10	3
Koh-jeh - -	10	3
Nar-whey - -	10	3
Koh-doh-noo - -	10	3

Toh-mah-tee (king's brother) - -	10 dolls.	2 galls. of rum.
Cha-cha - -	10	3
Dossoo-ee-a-voo -	5	3
Bah-hee-nee - -	3	1
Camboodee - -	10	3
King's family - -	10	3
Ah-mah-jee-peh-leh	10	0
Amazon Miegan -	10	3
Poh-veh-soh (and soldiers) - - -	6	15 strings.*
Doh-loh-quae (and soldiers) - -	3	20
Ee-gee-nee-kah -	3	10
Goo-loo-noo (and soldiers) - -	3	0
Lee-dae-noo - -	1	0
We-mah-hoo - -	3	0
Ah-koh-loo - -	2	0
Char-lah-koo - -	2	0
Meh-jah-koh-ee -	2	0
Boo-noo-mar-seh -	5	0
Koh-koh-ah-jee -	3	5
Lee-fee-lee - -	1	7
Ah-koh-boh - -	6	10
Gar-boh-tong - -	1	30
Dossoo-gar - -	0	30

* Strings of cowries, 50 strings to the dollar.

El-gae-noh-koh-quae - -	5 dolls.	20 strings.
Bah-veh-noo-soo - -	10	15
Bah-moh-heh - - -	3	5
Eh-noh-gar - - -	0	25
Ten hunchbacks - -	0	30
Ahoh-que - - -	0	5
Char-he-lah-feh-lee - -	2	20
Ah-hoh-dog-bee - -	2	0
Ee-a-see - - - -	2	0
Ah-dah-foh-soh - -	1	10
Ah-hoh-peh - - -	4	0
Ee-a-voo-gan, for fetish -	20	0
Tehnee-sar, for fetish at Abomey - - -	13	30
King's brothers and sisters, for fetish customs - -	66	0
Mayo, for fetish at Cannah -	30	0
Band - - - - -	10	0
Colonels and officers of his majesty's regiment - -	20	0
Band - - - - -	2	45

THE END.

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